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IV, No. 5 JANUARY, 1921

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLET

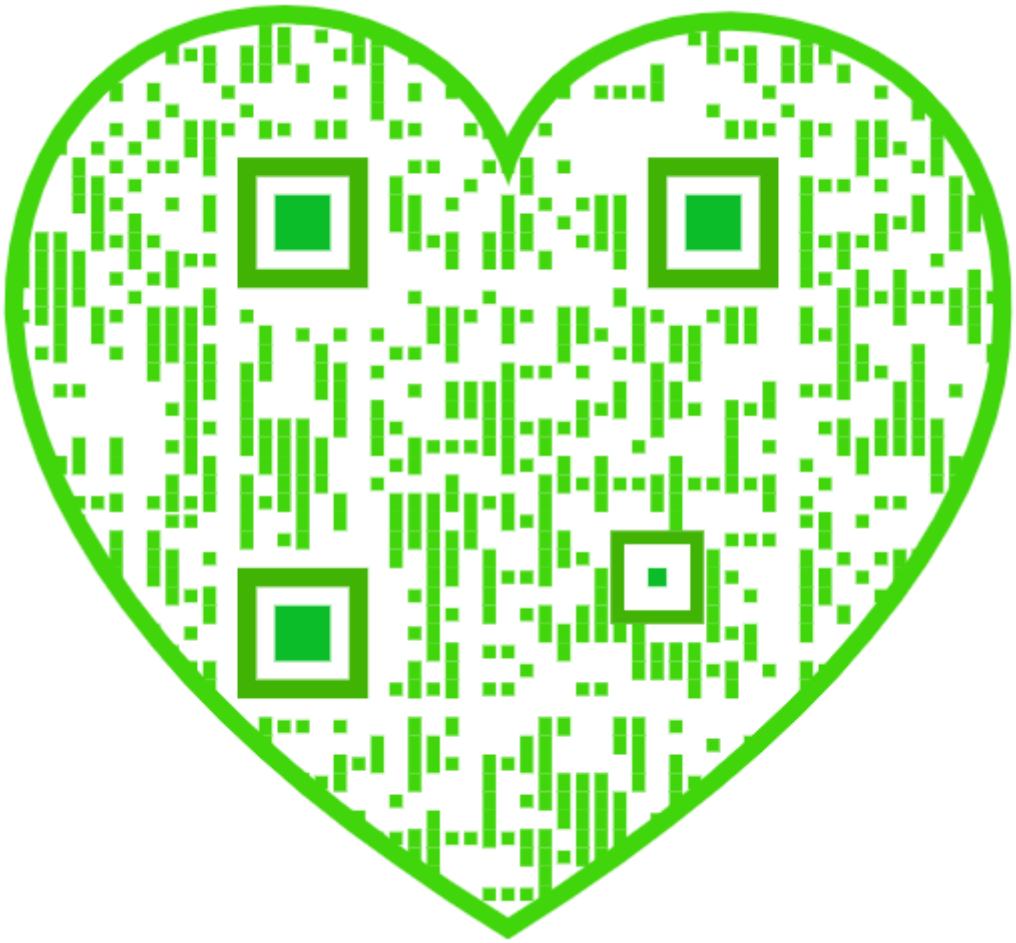
21-27151

COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT

A MANUAL OF DISCUSSION AND STUDY OF
THE NEWER IDEALS OF CITIZENSHIP

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
Entered as second-clsss matter March 14, 1918
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

Monograph



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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION LEAFLET

COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT

A MANUAL OF DISCUSSION AND STUDY OF
THE NEWER IDEALS OF CITIZENSHIP

BY

HOWARD W. ODUM, Ph.D.

Director of the School of Public Welfare of the University of North Carolina

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
1921

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PREFACE

This manual has been prepared especially for those teachers, principals and superintendents of North Carolina who are interested in the teaching and enactment of citizenship in accordance with the newer ideals of education, community and government. A previous manual, "Constructive Ventures in Government" has been made the basis for this re-statement of the problems of community and government. The general form and purposes, therefore, of the two manuals are essentially the same.

The purposes are clear and simple. To promote the fascinating business of being and becoming citizens and the systematic study of social problems is one purpose. If, in the prosecution of this purpose, a renewed interest in democracy and a clearer idea of social responsibility may be created, a forward step will have been made. The added chapter on "The Meaning of Community" looks to this end.

To emphasize a citizenship and government based on the ideals of social service and achievement is another purpose. As wide and comprehensive as are the needs of its people, so inclusive should be the government of a democracy. Our government can set no goal of achievement short of the highest development of the social personality and welfare of all its people.

To magnify a training for citizenship based on knowledge and first-hand materials for the study of government is another purpose. While the enactment of this ideal seems new, it is original in the best theory of government. Madison's statement is good: "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy or perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives."

To contribute to the growing meaning of community and the powers, obligations, and opportunities of local government is another purpose. Perhaps no greater advance has been made in the after-war period than the increased recognition of the institution of community, whether it be community of organization, of fellowship, of industry, of arts and letters, of learning, of religion, or of citizenship. And certainly one of the consist-

ent points of emphasis in the ever-enlarging services of a larger national government is the increasing importance of good local government.

To emphasize the companionable nature of both the study of and participation in government is another purpose. There is not only the enthusiastic and buoyant outlook of men and women working side by side for the bringing about of the newer ideals of citizenship; but there is likewise the remarkable opportunity for joining the great body of young men and young women in our educational institutions and out who are keenly interested and alive to the opportunities and obligations of social progress.

The manual is, therefore, not in any sense a technical study of civil government, but a program of companionable study and action based upon the interpretation of present-day social problems and needs of local, state and national government. It is planned to supplement previous manuals: one by Professor James Holly Hanford, of the Department of English, entitled "OUR HERITAGE: A Study Through Literature of the American Tradition"; another by Dean D. D. Carroll, of the School of Commerce, entitled "STUDIES IN CITIZENSHIP FOR WOMEN" in which he outlines the technical forms of government; and a third entitled "AMERICANIZATION," by Mrs. Thomas W. Lingle. It is planned also to harmonize with the special studies which Professors Hamilton and Knight are preparing and the very valuable and original county studies which Professor Branson has been making and stimulating for the last seven years.

It is not expected that any group will undertake all the readings or complete all the studies and projects suggested. The manual itself provides for essential minimums and its outlines and suggestions offer stimulation for maximum achievements in accordance with the disposition and resources of the groups concerned. It is arranged for special intensive studies of limited fields or for general study of the entire field. It may also be used in estimating the relative progressiveness of communities, counties, or cities in which use a sort of score card or measuring scale of progress may be made out by the club. Details of method for use of the manual may be gathered

from the part (VI) which discusses the readings and plans. Forms of co-operation on the part of the University Bureau of Extension are explained in the last division of the manual.

Special thanks are extended to Dr. E. C. Brooks, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, for his keen interest in the form and content of this manual and for valuable suggestions as to its effective use. It is hoped that experiments and projects being planned in the several communities will prove of definite value.

HOWARD W. ODUM.

Chapel Hill, November 15, 1920.

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COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT

COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT

PART I

THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY

1. An early community pact. Perhaps there is no more appropriate way of beginning this discussion of the meaning of community than with the example of a community pact typical of all our American democracy and free institutions and entered into three hundred years ago this eleventh day of November nineteen hundred twenty. For the Mayflower compact not only represents an ideal of a community of men and women coming together for certain very definite and inclusive purposes of association and welfare, but it is typical also of the plans and purposes of this manual of community and government, in that it reveals the true basis and method of community and government working together. The Mayflower compact may well serve also as a fitting conclusion and challenge to present-day community work.

"In the name of God, Amen. Doe by these presents solemnly and mutually, in ye presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a Civil body politick for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid and By Verture Hearof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal lawes, ordnances, Acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye general goode of ye colonie. Unto which we promise a due submission and obedience."

2. Community and government. As in the beginning of our government, expressed in the Mayflower compact and a year earlier in the "General Assembly" at James City in Virginia, community and government are inseparable in relationships so in our present-day efforts to give renewed energy and meaning to democracy, we must find in community and government the hope of greater realization. Group self-government in the community is but another form of socially-minded citizens organizing "for better ordering and preservation." For government in a democracy is of the citizens themselves, here and now in their

midst, and not something apart and mystical. As the government is, so is the service to the citizen. The individual in the community may wrongly think he can separate himself from his government; but if there be poor government, whether in health, education, protection, convenience, or any other form, the citizen suffers. And poor government in the community, on the other hand, can be corrected only by the citizens themselves. Community organization, therefore, becomes one of the chief modes of good government.

3. Community and democracy. The same is true of democracy itself. A great America composed of thousands of communities must, of a necessity, render its democrary through its communities. To quote Follett, "The technique of democracy is group organization." And Mr. Louis D. Brandeis expresses a similar sentiment when he affirms that "The great America for which we long is unattainable unless that individuality of communities becomes far more highly developed and becomes a common American phenomenon. For a century our growth has come through national expansion and the increase of the functions of the federal government. The growth of the future—at least of the immediate future—must be in quality and spiritual value. And that can come only through the concentrated, intensified strivings of smaller groups. The field for the special effort should now be the state, the city, the village. . . . If ideals are developed locally the national ones will come pretty near taking care of themselves." One would need to test the efficacy of democracy only by applying it to the institutional services which it renders to the citizens in the community, in the home, in his school, in his work. If only our growing citizen may realize the bigness of the task ahead—to develop the community democracy of the future, based upon the ideals of national government and co-ordinated by the central government of states and nation!

4. The romance of democracy. Community welfare is but the enacted romance of democracy. All our plans of democracy have been based on ideals and the romance of a universal welfare. What has made the democracy real is the fact that America has "made good" the statements, dedications, and cove-

nants of the early groups of community folk working together. The great state papers of the Nation, fired with their idealism and romance, are great, as Mr. Roosevelt points out, because the American people have made them good. The ideals of democracy expressed by Mr. Wilson in his great addresses will be real and great only as the American communities make them true. Throughout the history of this country we have written, spoken, and dreamed dreams of a government in which all the people old and young, rich and poor, strong and weak, would have a chance in life. We have never debated any other alternative. And yet, when it comes to the enactment of this idealism, community democracy and organization must largely bear the responsibility of making the romance of our aspirations real.

5. The community and state. The most striking example of the failure of a government to make good its ideals is that of the German nation. This has been explained, perhaps more satisfactorily than in any other way, by the fact that all of Germany's idealism was attacked from within as faulty and in its stead substituted a mechanical sovereignty neglectful of the individual and the community self government. The American tendency ought to be the opposite although oft-reminders seem necessary. Just as the ideals of community government are prominent in the growing conceptions of the modern state, so in the unit of national government expressed in our "states" there is recognized an invaluable agent for democratic government. The "state" as one of the units of national government becomes a larger community capable of carrying forward a better representative government. Likewise this unit of state government finds its strongest forces for democracy in its counties, cities, towns, villages and rural communities, all of which are coming to a fuller realization of the bigness of community organization and service.

6. The community and the school. Even the school, with its redirected programs for the teaching of active citizenship, finds the community, in the long run, its arbiter. For the school can be no more democratic than the community in whose image it is fashioned and the teachers whose training the community fosters; nor can the quality of its democratic education be much

different from that of the community responsible for its personnel and government. This conviction has led Professor Hart to conclude that "the democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is the problem of making a community within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the goods of life, and eager to share in the task of the age." But the school and education, more than any other force perhaps, can make and remake the community after the fashion of socially-minded, self-governing and mutually participating groups. The school can offer its instruction and its plant for the centering of community activities and for the promotion of community knowledge and spirit. The school can teach its citizenship on the basis of these ideals and upon the actual working basis of community projects and community interest. The teachers and administrative officials themselves will become better grounded in the fundamentals of local and state government and will thereby become better teachers and better officials.

7. A basis of citizenship. The community, therefore, for the school, becomes the greatest laboratory of citizenship. While it is true that the school itself may become a little democracy, utilizing its organization and its functions for the promotion and practice of democracy, the real laboratory for democracy must be in the community. Here are all the institutional modes of life as expressed in the home, the school, the church, the state, and industry or work. Here are the scores of "little states" themselves. Here are opportunities for organic democracy, political democracy and educational democracy. Here are citizens in the making and older citizens in the re-making. Here are problems of association and recreation; of government and politics; of employment and leisure; and of all the other human interests. When, therefore, the school can know its community and its citizens, and when the community can know its school and its work, new forces will have been released for the bringing up of well trained citizens for the future.

8. The community an institution. It must be very clear, therefore, that the community is an institution. For some time we have considered only four major institutions that make for

civilization and social progress—the home, the school, the church and the state or government. To these we have now added community and industry. If one wishes to test the power and significance of community as an institution he would but need to inquire into the possibilities of the family without community support; or of the school, or government, or of the church where the community is divided, or of conditions of labor where the community takes no thought for the welfare of workers. Or, again, what of the opportunities and obligations of play and recreation; of general social life and pleasureful association; of voluntary organizations and benevolent societies; and of the many forms of association not included in the other institutional modes of life? For almost unlimited good or evil have been many of the community's contributions and neglects in the realm of its own responsibility to its growing-up citizens. But even as the community must contribute to its fellow-institutions, so must the home, the school, government, church, and industry contribute their utmost to the making of the community a better place in which to live. This correlation of the institutions is one of the finer tests of community democracy.

9. The evolution of the community. If there could be further doubt as to the meaning of community it would be necessary only to trace its development and influence in the past, to note its present moulding of democracy, and to look forward to its growing power in local, national and international development. The history of peoples, of course, begins with the family; from the family grew, through association and co-operation in community efforts, the phratry, the gens, the clan, the tribe, the confederation, the nation, the empire. These organizations arose out of the imperative need for community co-operation for purposes of defense, subsistence, worship, special projects and others. The community of efforts and association has been the beginning and the mode of survival. Where no community co-operation could be effected survival was barely possible; community, therefore, becomes in its spirit and form a fundamental in the development of all society and government. The spirit of community is essential. The American nation had not realized, prior to the great war, to what extent it was a community of communities;

the aggregate of community organization and effort during the war made the total national power. And if one looks to the future, to possibilities of the international mind and international relations it is very clear that community of interests and organization must be the only mode of relationship. The larger community of fellowship, learning, labor—and others—will contribute to whatever of technique that may make for world peace and fellowship. The school, in its promotion of community citizenship draws on its age-long resources and is therefore working in harmony with its fundamental history and principles.

10. The individual and community inseparable. It is very clear also, from all the above viewpoints, that the individual good is inseparably bound up in the community. If the aim of all our democracy and social progress be the highest possible development of the individual, through his social personality and relationship, it will be seen that the community's relation to the individual is fundamental. There have been individuals and families who have believed that they were independent of the rest of the community; that they could live their own lives heedless of the needs and limitations of the community. Came the day when disease or vice or poverty which they and the rest of the community had allowed to permeate the group disproved this theory. There have been families who held that theirs was no responsibility to other families or to the community's responsibility to its people. And the day has come when disease or vice, permitted by them in the community, has entered the home and taken away all that was uppermost in their lives and purposes. No individual or family can become isolated from the community, and it becomes, therefore, not only a duty, but a privilege and opportunity for every individual and every family to join hands in making the community a suitable example of democratic opportunity. Even as in the history of the community, so to-day, the individuals and communities who do not co-operate in community democracy scarcely survive in the long run.

11. Local communities interrelated. Of special importance and illustrative also of the task of democracy, is the close interrelationship of community to community. Evidence of this is abundant. It is easily manifest in the school where one com-

munity, having neglected its duty to the child, sends it on to another community; it is evident in the counties, where one county, having neglected its opportunities for rendering health and education service to its children, turns them over as burdens to another county. It is evident in the matter of work and morals; in progressive and non-progressive tendencies; and wherever communities touch in social relationships. It is very clear, therefore, that each community must find its positive obligation to develop its highest organization and service, and likewise must contribute, wherever possible, by example and participation, to the promotion of the highest development of community welfare everywhere. The very basis of uniform citizenship and democracy rests upon uniform community development and service everywhere. The task of every school, therefore, becomes increasingly important as it undertakes the teaching of citizenship and the building of community spirit.

12. Community ideals. There are many ideals of community work and association, even as there are ideals and possibilities in democracy and human aspirations. Some of these may be mentioned as typical. Every community ought to know itself and its citizens. "To know each other well enough to work together and to play together" ought to be a reasonable standard. Do we know each other so well? Would we not understand each other better and eliminate much of the limitations of working together if we knew each other better? Is not this an attainable ideal under the plan of community organization? The community will have other ideals in view. Sometimes the beautification of town and surrounding neighborhood is foremost; sometimes an economic ideal needs to be worked out; sometimes it is the problem of schools and teachers; sometimes it is the matter of streets, roads, health, and the general welfare. Sometimes it is the community spirit and recreation that predominates; and sometimes the prevailing interest is in local government itself through which the other ideals are to be contributed.

13. The community at work. But whatever the ideals and the specific purposes for the time being, the community finds itself facing many tasks of importance. The community at work

becomes an inspiration to democracy. And while there are many modes and methods of work the ultimate goal will be as nearly complete and efficient **community organization** as possible. On community organization an entire chapter will be necessary. Its form will be conditioned by the nature of the community, the purpose involved, and the resources available. Sometimes the **community center** forms a large part of the organized efforts of the community and combines with the school to make a clearing house for community activities from voting to play. Sometimes there is a general **civic center** which joins with schools and other institutions. Sometimes the churches contribute to organized community work. Sometimes the larger part of community work is done by the **community club.** Sometimes there are various organizations such as the woman's club, civic associations, chambers of commerce, and others. Sometimes community activities take the form of **community fairs** and gatherings, exhibits and clinics, campaigns and projects. And sometimes governmental and semi-governmental co-operation constitutes a large part of community organization, as for instance **public welfare** programs, home and farm demonstration agents, health officers, school teachers and officials. Not infrequently to the local voluntary associations and agencies national voluntary agencies contribute much.

14. Federated community service. In all the work of organization and promotion the community may well hope to work out a federated plan of service which will answer the greatest possible service with the least possible waste and duplication. Such a federated service would provide a close correlation of the efforts of all departments of public service among themselves and also a similar close correlation with voluntary agencies. Not infrequently the best plan of federating all efforts is found in a county council or other county organization looking toward the complete service to the county and all its communities. The problem of Health is a good example; education and the school represent another form of the county unit method of work. Whatever the form of co-ordinated activities, the school finds itself a stragetic position and can contribute largely to success.

15. Types of communities. The nature of work done and the form of organization undertaken, as well as the number and character of the personnel of workers will depend much upon the type of community. It is quite evident that the city will have within its domain different types of communities from the general community of the small town or the village. The town will be different from the country community and communities in the cities, villages, and rural districts will differ among themselves. The very boundaries, territory and distinctions of communities vary greatly. Sometimes the community is centered around the school; sometimes around the several churches; sometimes a post-office or trading center; sometimes a community may be bounded by its newspaper constituency or by its technical political or civil divisions of county and district. In the city it may be even a block, or ward, while in extreme rural districts the community may be bounded by streams or hills.

16. The small town community. The city and its problems of community organization have been the subject for much study and planning, and with success. The rural community is now being estimated as one of the most important problems of education and welfare. And this should be true. More should be done. Of special importance, however, from the viewpoint of the school is the **small town community** which has much of the county and city alike. Its possibilities are almost unlimited for good—and sometimes it seems for evil! And, because of its reasonable size, its democratic citizenship, its neglect, its crowds of merry boys and girls, it is a challenge to the school for the development of the perfect community. Shall we not make of the small town the ideal of community living?

17. Active Citizenship. The community offers an almost undiscovered field for leadership and active citizenship in the promotion of community organization and local government. The following pages of this manual suggest some of the many opportunities available for the active citizen. To young men and young women, to the newly enfranchised women voters, and to voters of many years, the community calls. To all these and especially to school folk everywhere comes the heartening appeal of community and government.

THE MEANING OF WOMAN'S NEW PART IN GOVERNMENT

18. Progress in democracy and government. The early years of this century will always remain eloquent with notable records of achievement in democracy and government. Even before the Great War the very definite tendencies toward larger ideals of government had resulted in achievements of no little value. These achievements consisted not alone in improved organization and structure of democratic government but more essentially of the growth of community building through citizen interest, civic co-operation, and active participation in governmental services. Here were opened up new fields, new visions, new opportunities with practical difficulties and practical results available for the citizen of today and tomorrow. In the realm of community building, public service, and patriotism the citizen of today may reach goals unknown to the citizen of yesterday. And to this pre-war ideal the war itself has given great momentum, tending to give it direction and form adequate for after-war progress and public welfare standards.

19. The war and democracy. Then came the Great War in which not only the spirit of our democracy but also the very form of our government was tried by the fire of the world crisis. Would the spirit and soul of democracy, functioning through our fundamental American institutions, not only preserve its own traditions but blaze forth for the international mind and spirit the great truths of a progressive government, strong enough and big enough to cherish and cultivate the ideals of a people, and at the same time maintain their active and faithful interest in the means and forms of government control? Would the machinery of a government, by and for the people, stand up under the test of gigantic struggle and unforeseen emergency, while putting to rout the forces of governments whose ideals and enactments would make machinery of men? The victory of our ideals is tribute to the contrast

between our own potentials and the Europeans whom Mr. Chapman describes as loving too much "the glittering wares".

> That art and education had devised
> To charm the leisure of philosophers;
> The thought, the passion have been undersized
> In Europe's overeducated brain;
> And while the savants attitudinized,
> Excess of learning made their learning vain
> Till Fate broke all the toys and cried,
> *Begin again!*

America does begin again but in the triumph of liberty whose cause transfigures the tragedies of struggle and challenges all citizenship not to forget too soon the ideals and achievements of recent democracy.

20. The 19th amendment. The third great achievement is found in the enactment of the nineteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution of the United States. This amendment, granting to women the right of suffrage, constitutes one of the most definite and positive contributions to the theory and practice of government ever recorded. Within the few days that have elapsed since the Secretary of State certified to the validity of the amendment most citizens have scarcely realized the importance of the step. Here again both the spirit and form of our government are vitally affected. Certain it is that, in spirit, the amendment recognizes the great principles underlying representative government in giving to the people governed the rights of expression through representative modes of democracy. Democracy has been called the last and best solution of the social problem; the 19th amendment may be said to be the latest contribution to the solution of the problem of democracy. And while ranking perhaps as the greatest contribution of modern times, it will nevertheless, for a time, add new difficulties and problems to be worked out in the effort to realize adequate form for the expression of the ideals of democracy. Certain it is also that the coming of a new body of voters, with capacity potential approximating the present body, will affect the technique and practice of our government in the manner of elections, in the personnel of officials, and in the manner and methods of government operation. All these problems are

a suitable challenge not only to the new voters but to the old as well. One may well doubt the efficacy of the patriotism of citizens who will not recognize the tremendous meaning of the new movement and set themselves wisely and seriously to the tasks ahead.

21. Woman of the ages. In the desire to understand and interpret the possibilities of the hour one would fain become the world artist and paint, with the master's hand, the composite spirit of womanhood, reviewing the past with its aspirations, joy and sorrows; its heritage of rich and joyous living; its never-ceasing story of romance; withal its age-long tragedies and pitfalls of organic struggle; and its immeasurable contribution to the eternal values of human institutions. In this instance, perhaps the artist must needs paint the picture of the spiritualized American grandmother sitting in her corner when the day is done, dreaming dreams of yesterday, but

> mute prophetess
> That, on the marble furrows of thy brow,
> Wearest the print of wisdom and of peace.

How often, the artist sees, has she, all soul, her mind traversing the reach of years, dreamed dreams of what was, might have been, and would yet come! How the world of children and grandchildren have valued the quiet wisdom that, although unconscious of its grasp and scope, seemed to bespeak unfailing solutions of difficulties. The spirit of her wisdom, and of her sorrows in the days of weakened energies, permeates the "here and now" of the new ways of meeting her old, old problems. And not hers only; but the problems of the mothers of men in the making of the nation; of the sisters of men in the service of humanity; of the sweethearts of men in the struggle for the romance of durable happiness; of the wives of men in the weaving of the home fabric; of the workers of days in the walks companionable with men; of the teachers of children in the tears of discouragement; of the professional worker in the problems and progress of opportunity; of the myriad youth in the yearning for that chivalry granted by men to the few; of the servants of men in the shame of the race; yea, and of all that throng of youth and beauty and joyous womanhood that chal-

lenges the processes of progress. Surely the spirit of all these, and more, call upon men and women everywhere to meet with serious consideration and high motive the opportunities of the changing hour.

Or, perhaps the artist, seeking if perchance he may find more nearly the modes of human progress, becomes the student of literature "wherever it has touched its great and higher notes" as the "expression of the spirit of mankind". And, fascinated with the beginnings of imaginative creations and allegorical heritage he becomes youth again, lost in the contemplation of the fairy fancies of the world.

> And olden joys
> That I had long forgot
> Come running back like crowds of merry boys
> Let out from school,
> Filling the air with happy noise;
> I hear again my mother's evening croon
> Falling about me like the cool,
> Clear water in a shadowy grot,
> And all the simple things
> That gave naive delight to me
> When I was young.

And, following the stories and ideals of a fairy land and fairy power whose annals record the happiness of only the millionth little girl whose prince comes to take her to his palace, he wonders what of the fairy philosophy which would make happy also all the little girls in the realization of a richer fruition of the fullness of life. Were the fairies, too, a part of the old despotic and undemocratic dispensation which made women the servants of men or left the myriad hosts of womankind longing to the end of days for something that was not? Or, since surely fairies can do no wrong, was not the figure of the prince and the princess symbolic of the new day when every woman should look forward to the palace of citizenship what time she fulfilled her feminine destiny? And was not the prince the spirit of man reborn to the world with the strength of ten because his heart was pure? And has not, and will not every little girl look forward always to the palace and the prince? Or, once again, the fairies catch up from the midst of its home, the home of a poor man and his wife, the little child; and because the

parents are poor the fairies take the child away from the parents and translate it to some mystic forest or glen where all is silver and gold and brightness. And the youthful student of imaginative literature wonders again if the little child is really happy or if the parents, lonely for the presence of the child, really love the fairies? Or, supposing they were happy, what of the myriad throng of children of the poor for whom no fairies come? Why not a fairy philosophy which would take away poverty from the homes of the people and make happy hearthstones with unity and prosperity? Are these fairies, too, a part of the old dispensation of the breaking up of homes and of child injustice for which women have suffered so much? Or, since fairies can do no wrong, are not the beautiful enchanted wood and forests symbolic of the new day when the little children and the mothers of men everywhere shall reap together the fruits of a christian democracy of the substance of which is the kingdom of heaven?

22. **The great contribution.** But whether interpreted through fact or symbol, the opportunities and obligations of suffrage as expressed in the present situation offer the greatest potentials of progress. "The new citizenship" is being described as the citizenship of woman; as her participation in government. And surely, this is a newer sort of citizenship. But the really new citizenship, it must be remembered, is after all the total product of all citizenship, men and women, as it results from the participation of woman with her very definite contributions to current government. For there can be but one citizenship; it will be complex but not compound. The pages of this bulletin will indicate to some extent the qualities which woman's entrance into formal government will bring. But there is another, and if possible, even more important meaning of the present hour. Men have long said that the world progresses in the quantity of achievement, but perhaps not in the quality of mind and spirit. They have affirmed that the intellect of Plato and Aristotle and Shakespeare represent the highest modes of human achievement. They have wondered what new era might bring to the human mind its new quality and its stages of progress. Whether this will come about or not may not be affirmed with knowledge; but certain it is that one of the great

possibilities of the century will be the contributions to the growth of a richer social mind, made deeper and more composite, by the interplay of the minds and spirits of men and women set free for unbounded development and growth. Whether this be fact or fancy will no doubt depend upon the degree to which the processes of association of men and women progress in accordance with the fundamental laws of growth and the essential principles of human association. And in this process of development it is certain that woman has a very definite, distinct and distinguished part to play.

23. Two professions for women. For sometime now educators and students of social progress have maintained that for every woman there are at least two professions or vocations, and they have turned the processes of education in the direction of meeting the needs of these vocations. They have affirmed, and with accuracy, that the business of home making and home keeping is a fitting vocation for every woman sometime during the days of her pilgrimage. No matter how she may seem to evade the subtle influences of a Cupid or turn her energies, personality and genius to single blessedness, comes the day when the call of love and home, joining hands with the call of other duties, becomes the dominant theme and wins. And for the ages past, present, and to come this will be a substantial mode of fulfillment of the great destiny. Therefore, the schools of progress have turned their energies and skill toward the enrichment of their curricula for young women who will become the citizens and home makers of tomorrow; and the citizens of today rejoice in the progress of an education which brings to normal, everyday living the durable satisfactions of life and the larger measure of intellectual and spiritual growth. And on the other hand, they have recognized in the stories of human fortunes throughout the days of yester-year, and in the normal expectations of social relations now and on, that the desire and occasion for working out her own economic salvation may also come to every woman, and is for every woman another normal mode of working out her own and the race's progress. No matter how independent and free, therefore, from the need of personal achievement may appear the daughter of wealth and

fortune there has never come on earth a dispensation which guarantees the elimination of circumstances which may call urgently for readjustment in the hard and practical things of life. No more eloquent evidence of this has been found than the stories of the Old South with her romantic readjustment to after-war conditions of the sixties. But greater than the emergency need which may bring woman into the realm of vocation has been the ever increasing tide of new realizations on the part of women of their possibilities and heritage in the fields of human endeavor. And so, again, the schools, and society in general, have provided for the training of women workers, sometimes in the practical vocations; sometimes in the fields of profession; and again the citizens of today have rejoiced in the increasing power of service and growth which has come to add its momentum to the enrichment of woman's sphere.

24. **A third profession.** And now, to these two, are added a third profession for every woman—the profession of citizenship. And there is a very happy circumstance about this new profession, and that is, that the more proficient one becomes in it, the better prepared will she be for superlative achievement in the other two professions. And there is another happy relationship in this new profession, and that is, that the more proficient one becomes in the other two, the more efficient she will become in the new profession. Here, then, is happy harmony of the active life. Here is challenge for thanksgiving, tempered with serious determination to make it all count for the enrichment of the sacred qualities of life and service vouchsafed to woman. Here is challenge to make the new opportunity count in all the realms of life, but especially where only woman enters in

> With footfall soft, and walkest in the glooms
> Where none save thee may come

and to count in the enrichment of the institutions that make for civilization and social progress. For the processes and fruits of citizenship must surely be measured by contributions to life and its living in social relationships.

25. **The three-fold measure.** And there is another form of the three professions which must challenge the idealism of ev-

ery woman whose keen and spiritual insight into the greatest possibilities of life has visioned the glory of her outlook. And this is, rather, the three stages of adaptation to the three professions described. Perchance there comes to young womanhood the eager desire to achieve in life or letters, or in the performance of task set about with great difficulties or in need of singleness of purpose or undivided devotion to its pursuit. This becomes her art or profession; her pursuit of achievement and destiny. Shall the realization of work well done here and of qualities well earned be followed also by the second stage in the ideal, the achievement of success and happiness in the home and motherhood? And shall the glory of this achievement of wealth of life and happiness be succeeded by the heritage of later years devoted to the fascinating business again of work-a-day profession or the calling of citizenship; perhaps in companionship with children grown up to partake of the newer ideals of citizenship; perhaps in companionship with women whose association gives life and career its deeper joys; but in all cases, in companionship with men and women, younger and older, and with little children of the community, in making this country a better place to live in and in filling time with its due measure of productive activity.

26. **The newer freedom.** Who shall affirm that, in the perfection of ideals in the three aspects of life described in the paragraphs above, there will not come an enlarged service to, not only womankind, but to men as well? And to the development of the social personality of men and women, which after all, is the final goal of social organization and effort? If the ever-increasing power of the present day shall result in the transformation of the world-old moral standards of that proportion of the man's world which has been unwholesomely dominant in the realms of the double standard, a new era of possibility for the youth of the next generation will have been reached. And for the myriad little children whose futures lie like shadows ahead of those who move their destinies there will come an ever-increasing freedom from the deep tragedies of the sins of the fathers unto the third and fourth generations. And the new freedom of womankind, not freedom of misspent words or misguided and aberrant ideals of normal life, but the freedom

of association and living in the bigger realms of life unafraid of degrading standards or misunderstood motives—what will this not contribute to the institutions and wholesome citizenship of men and women everywhere? And how rich also will be the gain of the age from those outstanding individuals who, depriving themselves of the full fruition of a three-fold development of citizenship, yet proclaim through service and unalterable devotion to ideals the greater doctrines of the co-ordinated citizenship of the new day!

27. **Strengthen institutions.** But, after all, one may well prophesy that the greatest gain that will come from the entrance of women into formal participation in government will be the enrichment, development and strengthening of our great American institutions. It may well be estimated that such a service is now the greatest need of our democracy—the revitalizing and strengthening of the institutions which make for the better civilization and social welfare. For our democracy, representing the ideals and forms of a government whose sole purpose is to give service to its citizenship, must needs be measured in terms of sanctioned organizations and forms of association looking toward the betterment of all. These sanctioned forms of organization and association are the institutions and are fundamental in all organic theories of social organization. One of these essential institutions is government itself. Another of the great institutions is the home and family. There are four other principal institutions: **the school, the church, industry,** and **community.** Or, at least, it is permissible for us to so classify all forms and modes of institutional life. And when we shall have worked out our problems through the perfecting principles of these six institutions—**the home, the school, the church, the state, community,** and **industry**—will not the ideals of "that far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves" become realities? And who shall deny that woman's new citizenship, adequately prosecuted in accordance with the fundamentals involved, will not contribute—and largely—to better homes, better schools, better states, better churches, better communities, better work and working conditions? Prophecy of evil indeed, and based upon unscientific principles and pessimistic outlook would be such a forecast—prophecy giving evi-

dence of an unwillingness to join hands, in public spirit and private enterprise, with the present call for service.

28. **The home and family.** It is an old, old fundamental that the home and family constitute the basis of our society—and yet an ever new and ever increasingly evident fundamental of life and society in our own day and generation. It is the smallest unit of organization and the essential basis of the very existence of populations and of training in living qualities of citizenship and the social nature. Those who forget this principle but give evidence of the immaturity of their thinking or the lack of acquaintance with the history of social development. For, there has not been a survival of associations on the basis of instable family life, and the experiment has been tried throughout the ages in as many forms and methods as the mind, impulse, and experience of mankind could devise. Those who would destroy the power of the family to function in its fullest capacity, whether they be advocates of non-participancy in family life, or whether they be heads of families disloyal to the rights and eternal values of women and children, are enemies to the race. Our laws provide extreme punishment for those who take the lives of individuals—what should be the penalty of those who murder the institution of home and family, the life giving institution for many individuals? And it would appear that there never was a time when men and women need more to realize the importance of these fundamentals than now. For need one look further for opportunities to express in vital form the opportunities of citizenship which shall undertake the betterment of home life in the case of individual citizens themslves and in the need for legislation and guidance for the promotion and protection of the home and family? Who, better than women, should speak and act with unerring insight and knowledge? What conception of American womanhood can portray her utilizing a citizenship disloyal to these principles? Let us not confuse the dangers of complex situations arising in the midst of new problems, with the negation of organic and fundamental principles of life.

29. **The school.** And what of the other institutions? Do they need work-a-day, wholesome, civic participation and encouragement? And better legislation and direction as the days

of progress multiply? Are women citizens interested in the school? Or do they know of its problems and its burdens and its needs? Do they not send to its portals the thousands of those citizens-to-be of whom the old writ exclaimed "The world is saved by the breath of the school children"? Do they not teach the children in proportion ten to one as compared with men, the voters of today? What must be the ideals and conception of an American womanhood which would use a citizenship unfaithfully in the consideration of an institution in which all her children must stand by and carry on in the learning processes of early life? The schools are the institutions of the people—the citizens. Perhaps, for the most part, at least in many instances, the people—the citizens—have not become informed and serious concerning this great need for the training of children and for the promotion, protection and conservation of health and mental powers. Sometimes, citizens unthinking and unknowing, have delegated for the care of their children houses in unchosen places, houses unfit for ordinary habitation, admittedly, but good enough for schools. Sometimes similar conditions with reference to teachers and equipment and the opportunities for children in the schools have been overlooked in the same way. Is it not likely that the new citizenship will contribute tremendously to the betterment of schools? And can there be a more worthy undertaking? Or more varied opportunity for citizen participation in this form of government?

30. The state. And what of the state? And by "state" we mean, of course, the formal organization for the administration of government. It may mean national government with its greater policies for democracy; it may mean local state government with its rights and privileges of legislating for the good of its constituency; it may mean local county government with its complex and difficult problems of service to the people; it may mean local city and town government with its intensely concrete problems of government for public service; it may mean the local township and community government which looks to the best development of the interests and welfare of the citizens of that community. Or it may mean the conception of a democratic government in its ideals and principles of rights and services to all the people, with its ever forward-look toward

making each generation a little better than the preceding one. Perhaps we need in these present days to believe in government; perhaps a big wholesome faith and belief in government is the most important need of the hour when selfishness tends the world over to develop into universal individualism. And who, more than the woman citizen, has the capacity and disposition to believe in things that are fundamental? Who, more than she, will stand by its institutions with loyalty born of generations of high service and character? If "women in politics" could only come to mean women in, what Aristotle called, the noblest of all the sciences! For politics is the science of government—and should it not become the noblest of sciences in reality as well as in theory? Is it humanly possible to conceive of such enactment without being accused of the utmost dreamer's dreams of the visionary? If there is such possibility, will it not come about through the new era in which the many mistakes of the beginning will be transcended by the ultimate triumph of a better democracy?

31. The community. One of the distinctive developments of recent years, and especially of the after-war adaptations, is the growing recognition of the community as an institution of social progress. This, of course, is easily recognized in the emphasis placed upon community government which must solve its own problems of social relationships in common with its own interests and resources. But more than this, it is recognized that during the great war of stupendous achievements much that was done in the great cumulative building and using of resources came through the mass of communities organized to achieve the goals desired. No more inspiring chapter has been written than that of the awakening of community and community spirit and co-operation in the efforts to attain great and laudable ends. And in this story the plot of it all centers largely around the part which women workers played in the total achievement of community endeavor. The community must always remain the bulwark of our national power; its development, therefore, and organization become one of the fine tasks ahead. There are not only the aspects of community government and community organization, but also the community of learning, the community of art and letters, the com-

munity of association and fellowship, and the finer aspects of community life which become the very soul of a democracy, and without which the democracy will not exist.

32. **Industry.** A neglected institution has been that of industry. Work is a law of life and happiness. Work is an essential to growth and progress. The form and means, therefore, which give adequate opportunity for all citizens to work must surely be a sanctioned institution of society. This institution may be called **industry** and includes the means of production, capital, labor, business, and occupations. Certainly the institution of industry is the most comprehensive of all—because the mass of democratic citizens partake of its nature and services. Certainly, therefore, conditions of labor and the relations between capital and labor are of essential value in citizen study of participation in government. Certainly, therefore, the conditions of child labor and of women in industry are parts of the people-citizen's business of government. Certain it is that the opportunities for all those who work—and that should be all —constitute an important field of community endeavor and offer wide field for service. The promotion of a new respect for work and the promotion of a better understanding between those who work in detailed tasks and those who employ such workers may well become a supreme task of citizen statesmanship. In order to undertake with success such a task, the first essential is that the citizen should be well informed as to principles involved and conditions and situations existing. Will the contribution of women in citizenship here be commensurate with the possibilities that lie ahead? There is no evidence to indicate that it will not be.

33. **The church.** Out of the turmoil of the war and after-war period comes the increasing conviction, the world over, that the great need of the world is for appreciation and utilization of spiritual values. No matter how wonderful may be the methods of social organization or how comprehensive the scope of government without the spirit of mankind it cannot breathe the breath of life. To leave out of consideration the age-long spirit of mankind struggling, not through a single generation or in a separate domain, but through many generations of men throughout the world, struggling in harmony or against the

harmony of providence—to leave these out is to take away the spirit of our democracy. And so the church today finds its institutional obligation bigger than ever before and seeks to find a greater opportunity. The church, too, finds today its biggest opportunity for community service and becomes a part of the institutional community—the community of religion. And because of its spiritual ministration the church has always found womankind chief among its greatest; and because of the new citizenship it would seem very probable that the church will now find in woman, trained for service and organization, and accustomed to social service, a greater enthusiast in the field of religious service. An increasing body of discussion and literature on the relation of the church to welfare provides adequate opportunity for serious study. May it not be hoped that the spiritual values of life may receive, in this generation and on, new momentum and new measure in the life of the people?

34. **Six-fold democracy.** Contemplating, from the viewpoints described, the contributions of woman in government to the great institutions of society, one comes quickly to view a comprehensive democracy based upon this service—a democracy which, if it can be established, will stand the storms of ages. This democracy would be six-fold, conforming to the several aspects of civic service included in the institutional modes of life. Around the conception of the home grows up what we may call an organic democracy which gives the right to every child to be born aright and to become trained in the essentials of living and service; which gives the right to every woman of the home to have the divine rights of homehood and motherhood untrammeled by vice, injustice and tragedy. What an immeasurable field for democracy—organic democracy—which will give to every soul the equal opportunity of being born and of living, moving and having its being in the midst of God-given ideals. Growing up around the institution of the school develops the educational democracy which not only provides that each child shall have opportunity for an education but for that sort of education for which he is best fitted or for which he yearns. It would give to the country boys and girls the same opportunity for education which city boys and girls enjoy. This would be genuine democracy. And, growing up around the

institution of state is the principle of political democracy upon which our government has been based, and upon which now it is entering new domains. This country was founded partly on the ideals of religious freedom and democracy; the day is not past when emphasis should be placed upon the renewing of the ideals of religious democracy. The right to worship according to the dictates of one's conscience should be accompanied by the elimination of faulty aristocracy of church form and by the addition of the tenets of Christian service to mankind.

35. **The test of enduring democracy.** Of the problems of community democracy, or the opportunity for association and development of the social personality unhindered by undemocratic social conventions, one needs but to review the essential principles of American ideals in which the youth from any walk in life may look forward to all walks in life for which he may become worthy. And, of the problems of industrial democracy we have come now to the test of our governmental organization and service. Shall the form and spirit of democracy achieve its supreme task of the present time by its victory over the difficulties of readjustment as between capital and labor? Shall citizens, heretofore uninterested and out of touch with the great problems of labor, awaken to its situation? Shall citizens of the labor organizations, hitherto uninterested and out of touch with the ways of capital become acquainted with its principles and problems? Shall democracy, fair to both unreasonable factions, triumph in the institution of industry?

36. **The basis of government.** Here then, in the dream of comprehensive democracy, is found the simple ideals and principles of our government. The old conflict between the two sorts of governments has been fought out and won. The one theory of government held that the sole excuse for the existence of citizens was to serve the state—a super-organization of driving power. The other theory held that the state existed solely for its institutional power to serve mankind and that it has come about because of generations of experience in which such organization has proved to be essential for the welfare of all the people. The victory of the democratic over the despotic form of government has set the standard of our modern govern-

ment. The basis of statesmanship is found in the measure of service to be rendered; and the basis of citizenship is found in the spirit of preparation and service. Government is not some formal, objective, far-distant, all-ruling Leviathan which people, who ought to be citizens unafraid, look upon with fear or dread, or as some great power existing to restrain their liberties and energies. On the contrary the government is meant to give added freedom and development through adequate protection and ample social services. Of course it must have its form, and it must constitute vested authority—authority vested in it by the citizens themselves. And the perfection of the form of government is a challenge to the science of politics, just as the efficacy of its authority is a measure of its social force. But the final measure of good government will be the measure of good citizenship, in which measure the composite goal is the welfare of people. Training in the profession of citizenship and service, therefore, becomes the reasonable prerequisite to the ballot; whereas, on the other hand, the ballot is not infrequently the most effective means of bringing about reform, calling attention of the public to important policies, and sometimes of creating public sentiment. The ballot may therefore be the very means of bringing about the measures necessary, not only for social welfare, but for the training of citizenship in the essentials of citizenship.

37. **Social service.** And to this interpretation of the spirit of democratic government the citizen will be well in accord with public opinion and the currents of usable resources. Perhaps there is no tendency in modern times more clearly defined and more steadily progressing than that toward social service. This means, simply, that in the fields of education, science, politics, religion and perhaps in all the major modes of social relationships, the fact has been recognized that the highest efficiency and the greatest service achieved by the individual will be found in service to society and fellowman. In terms of moral sanction, it means that they who live unto themselves live in vain; in terms of social efficiency it means that the individual who neglects the development of his social nature, or who grows rich upon his fellows to their hurt, or who uses the public moneys for his own good, is the greatest of social offend-

ers. This phase of public opinion and social valuation is evidenced on every hand: in the ideals of government as just described; in the creation of a national welfare conscience; in the instruction of schools, colleges and universities; in the creation of schools or departments of public welfare or social service administration in universities like the University of North Carolina, Harvard and Chicago; and in the increasing body of literature, in all forms, giving expression to the ideals and modes of social progress.

38. **Justice and opportunity.** It should not be surprising, however, to those citizens who have kept abreast of the times, to learn that such a tendency and impulse in this country has made substantial progress. For, of all the ideals that have been caught up in the midst of the years, contesting, as it were, with the conflicts of generations, with struggles of war and peace, and with the varying problems of progress, none appears to have survived so consistently, and with each survival to have become increasingly dominant, as the passion among men and women everywhere for the survival of the right and for freedom of development for every individual. The appeal for a square deal; for a fair chance for the little child; for the deserved success of the young woman struggling for her chance in life; for the deliverance of the poor and needy; for the opportunity for every individual to develop social personality in the midst of a satisfying social relationship. This universal passion for the triumph of the right is expressed in our literature and art; in our ideals of character and romance; in the spiritual optimism of the people. The hero in the struggle must always win while the "villain" must perish from the face of the earth. Our souls are fired with righteous indignation at the wrongs of the weak or unfortunate and we glory in the triumph of their salvation. In the minds and ideals of the people there never is any other alternative than that the right and fair should triumph. Why, then, in our community life are there so many very real and very actual tragedies where the weak and unfortunate lose out in the struggle for life and their right? And why are we not exercised to remedy conditions which bring about results contrary to all our intellectual conclusions and our spiritual ideals? Why the pitiful sorrows of maladjusted

childhood? Why the poverty of women where injustice has robbed them of their birthright? Why the stealing of mothers' sons and daughters away by the vice and disease of the community and the loss of the struggle for right? Why do we allow the heroes and heroines of real life to lose in the struggle whilst the villains of wrong conditions or bad individuals survive and prosper? The answer to these questions, while seemingly difficult, appears on close examination to be very simple. These wrongs and these situations have not been crystalized into concrete parts of our creed or platform or active principles of government. Active citizenship has been a misnomer. But just as soon as these fundamental ideals become of a fact incorporated into the programs of government and the enacted ideals of an active citizenship, then just so soon will progress be made. It was so with prohibition and the saloon, for instance. Just as soon as the evils of the saloon and its attendant vices and crimes became a definite and concrete part of the civic conscience, then the saloon became an issue in government and lost its age-long hold on society. Thus it will be for the other great constructive forms of progress in the better forms of citizenship and the better enactment of government for the people.

39. Magnifying public welfare. Here, then, is one of the outstanding opportunities to carry forward the practices and services of government a step further—to that point where all matters of public welfare are assumed in the rights and privileges of citizenship. Here will come the opportunity to co-operate with all departments of government to promote the common weal; to co-operate especially with the Department of Public Welfare in the prosecution of its programs and in the creation of adequate public sentiment. The promotion of social service and the training for social work and community leadership becomes another prospect of civic project. Likewise, mobilizing the community for public health, for community organization, for child welfare—these offer an incomparable opportunity for immediate tasks of citizenship. There are many other specials aspects of civic co-operation and active citizenship in which women will contribute genuine progress. They will add to the spiritual momentum of civic life; they will contribute to the aesthetic ideals of community achievement; they will change

the tone of local politics; they will add momentum to the present rapidly-increasing tendency to provide better school facilities; they will stand by the state's higher institutions of learning, knowing full well the penalty which a state must pay for inadequate leadership. They may become, if they will, the master builders in the realm of educational statesmanship.

40. **Companions at work.** In all of this enlarging outlook for women in government there is yet to be stressed a very important situation. Woman's study of government and her participation in active citizenship will be companionable with men, not separate, isolated, antagonistic. For, never was there greater need for harmony and fundamental co-operation than here and now! Never was there a situation in which the two fundamental factors need more to merge their interests and activities. For the good of men; for the good of women; for the good of the cause, team work, side by side as companions for the ages! What of those who prophesy the separate ballot boastingly hurled at men for the sake of a winning vote, regardless of principles involved! What of those whose talk tells of the struggle of men and women in the controversies of non-progressive policies? What of those, whether men or women, who would marshal all forces of women for the winning of a cause not in accord with the fundamental principles of welfare and democratic government? What of those who urge sex loyalty and conclude in alliance with sex to eliminate the sex differences of citizen and life participation? These will not prevail; but rather the fine co-operation of men and women everywhere in the pursuit of the common good; a common citizenship; a companionable work; a separate glory of achievement in the development of greater man, greater woman, each magnifying the fundamental distinctions of organic heritage enriched by ever-increasing progress—these will be the modes of the new citizenship.

41. **Viewpoints of community needs.** In all consideration of the pressing problems of the present situation and of the issues involved in general civic co-operation there are always certain sound and fundamental viewpoints, motives and objectives of participation which should give direction to progress. In the foregoing and subsequent discussions of the prob-

lems of womanhood in governmental co-operation, there may be assumed:

1. That the government is really a government of the people and that people are citizens and citizens people, but that the quality of government is conditioned by the knowledge and co-operation of its people citizens.

2. That no community government can meet community needs adequately without civic co-operation.

3. That the average efficient community government will welcome citizen aid and co-operation offered in the spirit of constructive citizenship.

42. Viewpoint of citizen needs. And that further, on the other hand,

1. The life of the average efficient citizen is not and cannot be complete without some knowledge of community needs and some participation in community service.

2. The average efficient citizen welcomes, or should welcome, the opportunity to aid and co-operate with his official government.

3. But that knowledge of a community government and community needs is absolutely the minimum essential for community service; without such knowledge, neither the fact nor spirit of co-operation may become reality.

43. Viewpoint of woman's part. With reference, therefore, to the problem of woman's participation in government, similar considerations constitute a simple basis of premises upon which to consider further motives, viewpoints and objectives.

1. Women are now formally declared citizens with franchise, and are active participants in both official and voluntary forms of citizenship. A privilege brings a concurrent duty; a long-looked for opportunity brings a companion obligation.

2. The woman citizen will, therefore, welcome the opportunity to participate in government and will be willing to undertake the difficult, as well as the easy, tasks of citizenship, and will therefore welcome the opportunity to learn of community government and needs.

3. The woman citizen, further, undoubtedly possesses the ability and power to contribute certain distinctive qualities and

actions to government through her mental acumen, her imaginative turn of mind, and her peculiar and instinctive special interests in the life of the community.

44. General motives and objectives. Among the motives, therefore, upon which the great body of voters may base their immediate work, may be the fulfillment of the conditions of citizenship and situations involved in the statement of assumptions above outlined. The situation is here; it will be met; it must be met in normal, progressive and constructive ways—is not this the conclusion of the whole matter?

There may be, however, numerous and commendable viewpoints of different citizens; and different interests and aspects of citizenship may appeal to the different individuals. The richness of many interests and varying viewpoints will but contribute to the value of work done and the sureness of success to come. These viewpoints may be:

1. Patriotism, or love of community, with its elements of pride and loyalty; the desire to build a more prosperous community; the desire to make a better place in which to live; the desire to make a stronger unit in the total fabric of state and government.

2. The citizen-stockholder, realizing the responsibility and rights involved in the successful management of the greatest and most important of all corporations, through business methods in government; economy and efficiency in the expenditure of public funds and in the maintenance and promotion of the public welfare.

3. The social nature, with enthusiasm, vigor and qualities capable of serving one's fellow man through the principles and practice of vitalized Christianity.

4. The professional social worker, believing that philanthropy and voluntary efforts of citizens ought to be scientifically studied and administered.

5. The leisure-class citizen, desiring to expend profitably for self and community surplus time and money in the promotion of the public weal.

6. Respect for government and organized efforts; respect for law and order and for the personality and rights of others.

7. The scientific study and surveying of the community and human interests, insuring adequate knowledge for right action.

8. The correlation and utilization of all institutions, organizations and forces in the community, through intelligent co-operation.

9. Better town-and-city-building for the sake of commercial growth and expansion and general economic welfare.

10. The new education for social efficiency; for the teaching of more civics in the schools; of developing a better citizenship adapted; for giving to the public a comprehensive information.

11. The larger social ideal, or sociological aim, of developing a better social personality; a better social organization; a more vitalized democracy; in fine, one step toward the maximum social progress and human welfare.

45. **Types of official sanction.** A most significant document, as bearing upon the desire of community government officials to have the co-operation of individuals and groups who are working for the good of the community, is that reporting the resolutions of The International Association of Chiefs of Police which was adopted at a recent meeting in which four hundred chiefs of police from all over the United States attended. The resolutions express the exact type of co-operation and instruction in citizenship for which the new era should work.

Whereas, many universities, colleges, research bureaus and voluntary civic organizations are conducting social and health surveys and other forms of research with a view to improving the moral standards of the peoples, and increasing their effectiveness as members of their respective communities; and

Whereas, such organizations are showing from time to time, by means of their investigations, how the communities in which they are working may reduce crime in their midst by the correction of unfortunate social conditions such as interfere with the attainment of a high level of morality and of health and are thereby pointing out the ways whereby particular communities may work to prevent the development of criminals in their midst; and

Whereas, many universities, colleges, research bureaus and voluntary civic organizations, on the basis of their investiga-

tions are building up central bureaus or clearing houses of criminal records which incorporate criminal histories with other data, such as family records maintained for the usual purposes of social welfare in the files of various civic bodies; and

Whereas, such bureaus are already of inestimable value to criminal courts, police forces and other organizations and individuals of constructive vision; therefore be it

Resolved, First, that the International Association of Chiefs of Police, in convention assembled, approve such activities of reputable organizations as those referred to in the preamble.

Second, that the activities of such organizations, insofar as they aim to assist in the prevention of crime and to facilitate the apprehension of criminals and procedure against them, be interpreted by this association as lying within the scope of police function.

Third, that this association urgently requests police chiefs, other peace officers and public officials generally in all places to co-operate fully with reputable organizations of the sort designated in the preamble and to place at their disposal whatever police data may be needed to make the necessary connection with such records as are usually to be found in the files of organizations for social welfare and thereby to make complete in one record the full developmental history of individual criminals.

46. The outlook and the will. Typical of active citizenship the above is also representative of scores of other departmental requests for assistance that shall be interpreted as lying "within the scope" of governmental function. From all parts of the nation and in all forms of community and governmental co-operation comes increasing evidence of official welcome to active citizenship. A new potential is ahead. And with this opportunity comes the challenge everywhere to enter into this new service with fair and sympathetic attitude toward officials and official forms of government; patience, skill, and maturity in the undertaking of new tasks; a fair and impersonal judgment of those who oppose and those who serve the common good; and patriotism made vivid and concrete in the active service of democracy.

PART II

GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY PROBLEMS OF TOWN AND CITY

47. The city a complex of opportunities and obligations. Social relationships and the obligations of government and social service are most clearly defined in the modern city which represents at once the most advanced and most complex form of civilization the world over. Because of the concentration of population; of the predominance of secondary occupations and the massing of industry; of the interdependence of the population with its ever-increasing relationships; and of the other various outgrowth of city life, the social responsibility has increased a hundredfold. From these conditions have arisen new and larger problems of administration; of health, safety, convenience and education; together with the manifold problems of general social welfare. From these, again have arisen increased opportunities for expert service and increased demands for business government and organization. In the city responsibility for the public welfare has taken the form of accountability of government and government officials for economy and efficiency in the expenditure of public funds, and of accountability of private citizens for support in this undertaking. By economy we may mean simply the careful, scientific and well-planned expenditure of money for the definite purposes and services for which funds are provided; by efficiency we mean primarily the adequate meeting of social needs within the prescribed limits of city government in co-operation with private support. How true this is and how important to the welfare of all the people will appear from an examination of the scope of municipal social service.

48. Two decades of progress in town and city. So great has been the progress in better government and municipal social services in our towns and cities within the last two decades that we have come to look for many of our standards of excellence here, rather than to concede that the government of our cities is a national disgrace, as was maintained by our foreign critics. And yet there is much to be done. Not only in the larger cities, but in the smaller cities and towns there is ample obligation to

magnify the effectiveness of local government. And in the building up of new cities and the enlargement of our towns a remarkable opportunity awaits the citizenship of the state. For the towns will increase in numbers and population and the problems of municipal life and government will continue increasingly complex. What an opportunity, therefore, for the best expression of civic interest and for the keenest participation in good government in these thousands of towns and cities, representative of our best life and traditions. What the next two decades of progress will bring forth in public welfare in our towns will depend largely upon the use which women, with clear-eyed vision and well-guided action, make of their new part in government.

49. Information essential for co-operation. From observation and study, and from the testimony of those in a position to know, it seems fair to assume that the average citizen has only a very partial knowledge of the home city and its functions and at the same time desires to acquire more information without the necessity of going exhaustively into a study of city government and social conditions. That the citizens should keep informed upon such matters is clear from several self-evident considerations in order to appreciate the problems and responsibilities resting upon the officials chosen; in order to appreciate the problems and responsibilities resting upon the private individual; in order to be able to co-operate intelligently with the official government; in order to exercise intelligently the rights of publicity toward public acts and officials; and in order to guarantee self, or any taxpayer the requisite amount of taxes with the maximum amount of economy and efficiency in the expenditure of the public funds. No matter what the form of government, this is the first essential of progress and improvement in social welfare for the city. To apply this information by ballot or otherwise to a specific locality is to make its value twofold.

50. The scope of municipal services. The forms of organization differ widely in different cities; the service departments and divisions are almost as numerous as the cities themselves. But the fundamental services of the city to its constituency are the same in general for all cities, means for meeting these needs

varying often according to local conditions. The principal municipal services may be classified in the following divisions: General administration; city planning; public works; public health sanitation and housing inspection; charities; corrections and public welfare; public safety; public education; financial organization; civic uplift and general social services; private services in the municipality; and services to the rural communities adjacent. The story of what is included in each of these will be told in a brief outline of principal topics under each division the summary of which will give the complete story of the city's services. Is it worth while to know of these fundamentals? Will such knowledge offer guide to the effective use of citizen inquiry, study and ballot?

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

51. The scope. That the general administration and government of a corporation spending thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars is a most important service, requiring great responsibility and efficiency, is not infrequently overlooked when this corporation happens to be the city government of all the people. And yet this is precisely the most particular of all chartered corporations for the people. The general administration not only means supervising the enactment of all services but includes many important special branches. There is the legislative branch with clerks therefor; there is the executive branch with the mayor, manager, superintendent or other head of the government with his executive boards and commissions, with the treasurer or chamberlains, and with the solicitors or other legal advisors; there is the judicial branch with such municipal courts, justice courts or other courts and coroners, together with sheriffs and marshals, as do not belong to special departments; and finally the election of officers and the upkeep and management of government buildings and properties belonging to the people. It is worth something to the administration officials to know that the people whom they serve are acquainted with the duties being performed.

52. Methods of co-operation. Citizen inquiry into facts and procedure; citizen expert aid to officials; vigilance as to election and nomination of officers; citizen advisory service;

citizen research and publicity; through bureaus of municipal research; economy and efficiency commissions; national and local municipal leagues; voters' leagues; political clubs; societies for the study and promotion of good government; committees of one hundred; of fifteen; of seventy, etc.; academic or scientific societies; civil service committees or commissions; taxation committees; and general accounting or business organizations of whatever sort. Exhibits, surveys, publicity, campaigns, budget making co-operation.

53. Projects and questions. Give a brief description of your present form of town or city government.

Compare it with other forms—that is, estimate for your locality the relative merits of the commission form, the city manager plan, or the mayor, council or alderman plan.

Give a brief account of local political campaigns for the last three elections, estimating the proportion of voters at the polls.

What are the main issues on which the next elections will be made?

Draw up a functional organization chart of the present city government.

FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

54. The scope. The financial methods obtaining in the city administration may contribute much to the efficiency or inefficiency of municipal services. Among the most important of these services is that of budget making, in which the program of the year is too often marred instead of made. Important alongside the budget making is the system of accounting including office accounts, cost accounts, operative records, forms of reporting, filing systems, mechanical aid and general facility in keeping books for the public. Poor bookkeeping is no more justified in the public's business than elsewhere, but rather less justified. Important also is the method of financing public improvements; while the method of assessing and collecting revenue constitute a tremendous task for public services. Nowhere more than here is the demand for efficiency and business government more apparent and urgent.

55. Forms of co-operation. Citizen interest in budget making—co-operation in making estimates of the needs of the several

departments of city government—study and inquiry into the elimination of wasted or unwise expenditures—expert assistance by business men and women—use of business methods in city government—planning of finances—programs for taxes and bond issues—stimulation of official interest in new methods of revenue—suitable distribution of licenses—co-operation in introducing itemized system of expenditures as well as budget—watching public service corporation franchises—helping to utilize revenue from public utilities—the giving of special gifts and endowments.

56. Projects and questions. What percentage of the total expenditure of the city is devoted to each of the principal items of municipal service?

Describe the methods of financing public improvements.

Describe the methods of budget making and classification of expenditures.

Describe general procedure in office administration of at least one department of the city government.

Make a study of the system of collecting revenue.

Outline a plan whereby the city may obtain more funds with justice to all.

CITY AND TOWN PLANNING

57. The scope. The scientific planning for the present and future of the city constitutes as much a part of its services as do carefully made plans for the success of any business organization; and more because it involves the welfare in life, health and comfort of many more people than any private organization. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to plan for recreational facilities in parks and playgrounds; for transportation facilities in the location and construction of lines and terminals; in the direction and expansion of streets; in factory facilities with reference to segregation and enlargement; for workmen's homes with reference to the welfare of the city and the workmen; and for both civic and industrial centers with reference to general civic and industrial efficiency. It is not enough to allow the city to grow up without recreation; to allow the street car companies to select routes and the railroad terminals; to allow the proprietors of factories to plan

only for their own gain; or even for the landlord to ignore the rights and wishes of the laboring classes within the city. Planning ahead not only brings future efficiency and welfare but prevents untold waste of time, energy and money with the consequent ills of maladjustment. It is therefore good business.

58. **Forms of co-operation.** Citizens interest and inquiry into future needs of the community; preservation of grounds, trees and other natural resources; preservation of spaces and avenues for expansion; obtaining properties for reasonable expenditures; prevention of congestion; extension of roads and streets; promotion of the beautiful; planning of housing communities; planning for factory districts; planning for wholesale trades; perfection of workingmen's homes. Through municipal improvement associations; city planning committee; city-beautiful leagues; playground associations; garden associations; workingmen's clubs; women's municipal leagues; local organizations of whatever sort. Surveys, exhibits, conferences, publicity, co-operation.

59. **Projects and questions.** Make a brief report on the history of the growth of your town.

Outline a plan for the next ten years' growth, keeping in mind parks, playgrounds, streets, and other essentials as outlined below.

Make a study of the homes of special groups of workingmen in the town, with reference to location, conveniences, and service rendered.

Outline a plan for a civic center in the town.

Describe the factory locations and draw up plans for the location of future factories.

Write the story of a year's recreational progress.

SANITATION AND HOUSING INSPECTION

60. **The scope.** Sanitation is the prevention work looking toward health efficiency and includes inspection of congested areas, disposal of garbage and sewerage and the general cleanliness of the city and includes the sanitary inspection of houses and premises and plumbing. The supervision of buildings includes the plans of construction and plumbing for both sanitation and safety, and construction and inspection of buildings

with reference to fire prevention. Such supervision may also include provisions in accord with model building plans and regulation in accordance with city planning as already outlined.

61. Forms of co-operation. Citizen interest in a clean city; in the elimination of dirt and filth and ugliness; the prevention of disease; clean streets; clean back yards; clean vacant lots; elimination of the fly and mosquito; better housing conditions; better water supply; better drainage. Through housing associations; visiting associations; relief associations; civic clubs; city improvement associations; special days; clean up days; exhibits; propaganda; instruction; co-operation with school; study and surveys, publicity.

62. Projects and questions. Which of the above aspects of prevention are emphasized by your local government? By citizen co-operation?

Describe "special days" and movements of the last two years.

Who in the town knows of conditions of sanitation in the negro sections?

Write out a plan whereby the authorities may "clean up" the entire town.

Make a study of sanitary conditions in markets, restaurants, dairies, and drug stores.

PUBLIC HEALTH

63. The scope. The public health department should begin with a public health program. The list of public health services comprises medical inspection service, to control contagious diseases; hospital services; food inspection service; meat inspection service; milk inspection services; infant welfare services; laboratory services; and finally statistical services. Failure to control contagious diseases is responsible for a large part of health inefficiencies; failure to provide specially for infant welfare work in the summer results in the death from preventable causes of hundreds of little children; failure to provide adequate laboratory services cripples service in most of the divisions of health work; and a failure to provide statistical services results in the city having no standard or record by which to measure its work or progress.

64. **Forms of co-operation.** Citizen interest in a community program to banish disease and build up an enviable health record; better hospital facilities; fewer contagious diseases; fewer infant deaths; better vital statistics. Through visiting nurse associations; physicians' clubs; baby saving campaigns; societies for the prevention of disease; milk and ice funds; dispensary and medical distribution. Campaigns, exhibits, clinics, instruction, special days, propaganda, publicity, co-operation.

65. **Projects and questions.** Make a study of the record of contagious diseases for the last two years, together with the methods of medical inspection.

Describe the activities on behalf of infant welfare.

Make a special study of the birth and death rates of the town.

Outline a plan for complete food inspection services.

Make a study of the sanitary inspection of houses and premises, with recommendations.

Make a study of the sanitation of congested parts of town.

PUBLIC CHARITIES, CORRECTIONS, AND WELFARE

66. **The scope.** The demands upon the city for charity services fall into two general divisions; those having to do with charities within institutions supported by the city, that is, indoor relief; and those having to do with charities administered in the home of the needy, that is out-door relief. In the smaller cities charities are almost entirely outdoor, local or county almshouses taking care of the other needs. In connection with the charity services which the city may render two other aspects are important: the first has to do with relief by prevention, through city planning, employment bureaus, insurance and savings system, juvenile agencies and others; and the second has to do with the efficient co-operation with private charities and philanthropy, this itself constituting an important, in many cases, the principal means of charity work by the city. Services relating to corrections are those having to do with prisons, penitentiaries and reformatories, together with the criminal courts, juvenile courts and other modes of dealing with offenders, especially youthful offenders. Than the problem

of corrections there is perhaps no single service to be rendered of more far-reaching significance.

67. Forms of co-operation. Citizen interest in a normal population; the elimination and helping of defectives, dependents and delinquents; relief for the needy; prevention of vice and crime; correction for the curable; welfare for the people. Through associated charities; homes and hospitals; juvenile corrective and protective associations; big brother movements; clubs for boys and girls; work and help for the aged; visiting associations; juvenile courts; and literally hundreds of methods of charity. Contributions; supervision; visiting; following up work; study; earnestness; direction.

68. Projects and questions. Make a statistical study of the number of cases assisted by the city through indoor or institutional relief.

Describe the system of giving outdoor relief and the co-operation of city with private charity.

Outline a practical plan for an employment bureau operated by town or city.

Make a careful study of one or more prisons, reformatories, or penitentiaries in the community.

Write the story of a year's juvenile delinquency.

PUBLIC SAFETY

69. The scope. The public safety of the city is commonly considered under the two heads, the services being classified into police protection and fire protection. The police department has varied obligations to perform, including its own efficient organization and control, the training and equipment of officers and recruits and effective rules and regulations governing safety service. It has in addition to the vigilance for criminal offenders the regulation and control of street traffic, transportation and the use of streets; the special assignment of the control of vice, and efficient methods for the detection of harmful forces through secret and other investigations. The police departments in American cities have been specially subservient to politics and graft, in which they have retarded the progress of cities. The fire department has not only to perform its duty of fire fighting, through which it must have an efficient organiza-

tion and administration, but it must also take special steps toward fire prevention. Through this latter service a new efficiency awaits the redirected fire forces.

70. Forms of co-operation. Citizen interest in making the community a good place in which to live; elimination of crime and vice; elimination of bad influences; elimination of unnecessary loss by fire; safety first and always. Through police commissions; societies for the prevention of vice; societies for protection of family; prison commissions; societies for protection of children; safety-first societies; fire prevention societies. Study; propaganda; publicity; punishment; co-operation.

71. Projects and questions. Describe the system of police protection in your town.

Make a statistical study of the number and causes of arrests for one year.

Describe the methods employed in dealing with vice, with a view to making criticisms.

Make a special study of all cases of unwarranted arrests or of unnecessary fines and imprisonment.

Make a study of the loss by fire for the last year and the methods of fire-fighting.

Outline a plan of propaganda for fire prevention in the city.

PUBLIC WORKS AND UTILITIES

72. The scope. Under the division of public works are the highways with their construction, inspection and maintenance; with the cleaning and sweeping of streets and the accompanying organization and management of labor; and finally with the disposition of sweepings and street garbage and other waste. Next are sewers, with the construction and maintenance and the disposal of sewerage, and of course the organization and management of labor. Next are the public utilities, such as the publicly-owned water and light plants, with their construction and maintenance and all public buildings or other property. Within the field of public works the American city in the past has been in many cases noted for its inefficiency and waste; and no field perhaps would repay a careful study more than this.

73. Forms of co-operation. Citizen interest and aid in establishing adequate and satisfactory communication;

transportation; public utilities; elimination of waste and graft; economy for the public satisfactions and comforts; efficiency in public service. Through good roads committees; good roads days; street improvement associations; national highway commissions; engineering societies; building associations; citizens inquiry committees; co-operative work-together societies; other organizations of whatever sort. Surveys, exhibits, demonstrations, publicity, conferences, special days, co-operation.

74. **Projects and questions.** Draw a map showing the principal streets of the town.

Make a study of the condition of all, or parts of city highways.

Describe the organization and procedure of the street cleaning force in the town.

Make a study of the sanitation of the city as found in the maintenance and construction of sewers.

Outline the most sanitary and economical methods for the disposal of sewerage.

Outline a plan for the public ownership of light, water and gas plants.

PUBLIC RECREATION

75. **The scope.** Recreation has well been called the physical basis of social organization, and yet most communities pay little special attention to organized recreation. The large cities are notable exceptions, recognizing public recreation as a fundamental aspect of city government. A proper recreational system will provide for parks, large and small; for playgrounds and organized play; for the perfection of the school play system; for social centers; and for the supervision of all public recreational places.

76. **Forms of co-operation.** Citizen interest and help in making a wholesome and joyous community; utilization of leisure time; directed play; helpful amusements; physical and mental welfare; a better race of citizens. Through recreation committees; playground associations; story tellers' league; dramatic associations; social center committees; music and festival associations; park commissions. Through play; drama; page-

antry; garden and play ground exhibits; social centers; festivals, lecture centers; organized recreation.

77. **Projects and questions.** Make a study of forms of recreation in the community.

Draw a city plan for small parks and play spaces.

Make a survey of the community with reference to vacant lots and their use for gardens and playgrounds.

Outline a practical play for the improvement of the school playgrounds.

Make a study of the theaters and other amusement places.

Show the evils of inadequate or improper recreation.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

78. **The scope.** Public education in this classification is largely the public schools and would seem to be self-explanatory. And yet the services to be rendered by the public schools, with the accompanying complex problems of administration, are far greater than any practical conception ordinarily held by the citizen. These services include the efficient organization and administration of the school system both from without and within; the problem of selecting efficient teachers without the rule of politics; the problem of equipment of teachers; the problem of selecting a practical curriculum with varied courses of study; the problem of grading and classification of school children; the problems of retardation and the problem of special schools, night schools, vocational schools, co-operative schools, schools for defectives and all thers; the problem of the health of the child with adequate medical inspection; the problem of the general school hygiene, including the buildings and grounds, the heating and lighting, ventilating and seating, sanitation and comfortffi the large problem of recreation and playgrounds; the problem of the wider use of the school house for social services to the community; the problem of citizen and patron co-operation; and with all these and many others, comes the specific problems of utilizing moneys, the supply department itself constituting a considerable business; and the efficiency of all these services will depend largely upon the great problem of selecting and organizing the board of education, this having constituted for many years the greatest of administration problems. What a tremendous field for citizen co-operation and civic service!

79. Forms of co-operation. Citizen interest in the schools; co-operation with teachers and boards; improvement of the school plant; efficiency in correlating school and home; improvement of school sentiment; larger opportunities for school work; better attendance. Through home and school leagues; public education associations; parent-teacher associations; school visitors; kindergartens; medical inspection visitors; school garden associations; pedagogical associations. Visiting; study; contributions; school lunches; exhibits; co-operation.

80. Projects and questions. Describe the organization of the school system, including courses of study and methods of teaching; or select a single school for study.

Make a study of the heating, lighting and ventilating of school buildings.

Outline a practical plan for better vocational education in the public schools.

Make a statistical study of age and grade distribution of all children in the schools and show amount of retardation.

Make a study of the need of medical inspection of school children.

Describe the uses of the school building during the year for other purposes than teaching; or outline a plan for the "wider use of school plant."

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICE

81. The scope. More and more the modern city is recognizing its general obligation to perform as many social services, other than the technical and mechanical duties of city government, as possible consistent with circumstances. Among these services are the public libraries and reading rooms; the civic centers; the supervision of weights and measures; the organization and administration of the city markets; the inspection of food supplies; civil service and pension services to employees; and many other similar efforts. That there will be found a means and an avenue for increased efficiency and social service in these civic efforts cannot be doubted. And yet with all the formal and organized services of the city, complete efficiency is not possible without the thorough co-ordination of official

with private services. Co-operation with the churches; with the hospitals; with the charities; with the women's clubs; with all civic clubs; with private educational institutions or public institutions other than city; with chambers of commerce or other booster organizations; and with all other private resources. Civic education and civic consciousness are synonymous with these efforts which are in turn co-ordinate with formal municipal services.

82. **Projects and questions.** Describe the public libraries of the city, and make a study of its services to the people.

Show by a detailed study the need for weights and measures supervision.

Make a study of the possibilities for a municipal market.

Outline a plan for civil service and pension provisions for city employees.

Enumerate, with details of plans, other methods whereby the city officially may serve the mass of its people.

Describe the services of one or more churches to the welfare of the city.

Make a study of the influences of one or more private educational institutions.

Describe the work of the Women's Clubs of the town.

Make a study of the work of the local chamber of commerce or other such organization over a period of two or three years.

Outline a plan for a citizens' organization for effecting municipal efficiency.

SERVICES TO THE RURAL COMMUNITY

83. **The scope.** But the city must not only be city-building within its own domain, but country-serving in its services toward the surrounding communities upon whom it depends for support and expansion. This is true both for its own perpetuity and welfare and it is also true from the higher obligations of social service to society. In this capacity the city can aid in more or less degree and in varying ways, the rural districts by increasing efficiency in farming; in merchandise and exchange; in transportation; in communication; in rural finance; in better co-operation and organization; in health and sanitation; in adding to the social satisfactions of country life; in

aiding the rural church; the rural school; in general civic education and publicity; in promoting the welfare of country womanhood; the country home and family; the beautification of the country; in the recognition of rural leadership and rural values; in building up communities and in promoting co-operation with governmental functions. How the farm demonstrator, the educational leader, the road expert and many others sent by the city have made over the rural districts is now matter for record. That every city must consider this aspect of its services is synonymous with the assertion that every city wishes to grow and to provide efficient services for its people. No greater opportunity has been overlooked than this.

For modes of civic co-operation and for projects of work to be done as well as questions to be answered see the following chapter. Meantime, to what extent can the city or town community include in its services provisions for a rest room for country women who must spend long hours in town? Or co-operation in a county fair? or the provisions for comfort stations, or municipal sheds or garages, or markets, or roads, or credits? or the recognition of rural leadership in the county?

PART III

GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY PROBLEMS OF COUNTY, VILLAGE, AND OPEN COUNTRY

84. Two aspects. In the study of and participation in the problems of the county and open countryside two viewpoints may be emphasized: the one is that of the government of the county, with its difficult tasks of finance and administration; the other is the great problem of the development of the rural life of the state, contribution to the social satisfactions of the dwellers outside the towns and cities, and the proper recognition of their part and parcel in the state's affairs. It is doubtful if two more urgent needs for co-operative citizenship can be found than these two aspects of the public welfare. If only the franchise for women will bring them into closer contact with these problems with an adequate knowledge of their import and a willingness to share the responsibility, there will be developed shortly a new era in the annals of North Carolina progress. There is no greater challenge to the new and constructive ventures in government.

85. County government. Poor county, we say, of which we expect so much and for which we do so little! All the people live in counties! We deal justice or injustice from the counties; we marry and give in marriage in the counties; our properties are taxed in the counties, and we pay three times the amount for county as for state tax; our roads are built and not built, maintained and not maintained from the county seat; our county schools are good or bad as per the county schedule; our health problems and problems of welfare center in the county. We really have a county spirit or county conscience, in general, and we have developed distinguishing characteristics from county to county. And yet, with all this and more, county government, as Doctor Branson says, is without ideals. County officials have no guide or manuals or budgetary forms of procedure. And however eager and earnest and honest they are, they must grope in the dark with difficult tasks and burdens of government beyond their powers. There is not only little knowledge of county affairs and little uniformity in the scores of details of governmental administration of local county affairs,

but many, many of the citizens disdain to show an interest in county problems and county government. Witness the attitude of many men and women toward county officials and their assumption that "conditions are about as good as might be expected." Why not give to these officials the sympathetic support which they need? Why not give them means for government and require the effective utilization of these means? Why cripple the largest portion of all our local affairs and progress by lack of system, support and directions? Why this utter negligence of the county government by good citizens? Why has this branch of government failed more largely than any other in performing the tasks of public service with appropriate economy and efficiency? Why? Well, just because!

86. The scope. The scope of governmental activity in the county is large and its roster of officials a comprehensive one. Judge Gilbert Stephenson estimates that in addition to the deputies in the office of the clerk of courts, the sheriff and register of deeds, and in addition to the constables and justices of the peace who are township officials within the county, and allowing three members only to each of the boards of election, education and county commissioners, there are thirty standard officials in the county of North Carolina. These are:

Clerk of the superior court, sheriff, register of deeds, coroner, treasurer, surveyor, superintendent of health, superintendent of schools, superintendent of county home, superintendent of reformatory or house of correction, superintendent of public welfare, board of education, board of commissioners, board of elections, highway commission, auditor, judge clerk, and solicitor of county court, county attorney, farm demonstrator, standard keeper.

The duties of these officials are more numerous than the average citizen comprehends. For instance, one official, the clerk of the superior court, has assigned to him by legislation thirty-two separate and distinct records to be kept and there are listed seventy-five different items of service for which he must charge a fee. He is judge, probationer, advisor, file clerk, and the general utility official of all the counties. Likewise the duties of the register of deeds and the sheriff are many, complicated and not infrequently confusing and expensive. Many

of the officials are elected by the people who really do not know in detail the duties which they are to perform or the distribution of cost and labor among the several officials. Elected by the people are clerk of the superior court, sheriff, coroner, treasurer, register of deeds, surveyor, and commissioners.

The scope of county government includes, in general, the same services demanded of the municipality, but in different forms and proportions. The finances and financial administration is important and neglected; the country schools have been called the greatest disproportion of our civilization; then there are the services involved in public health and sanitation; public safety and protection; public justice and the courts; public property records and protection; public roads and communication; public charities and welfare; prisons and reform; home and farm demonstration work. The same obligation rests upon the citizen to participate in government and to improve the services of the county to its constituency.

87. Projects and questions. Work out, in the detail method illustrated in the previous chapter on city government and problems, the scope and forms of citizen co-operation for each of the county services enumerated above.

Make a complete functional statement of all duties of all officers in your county.

Work out a program for the improvement of all services in the county, in harmony with the best co-operation with present officials.

Make a study of the financial administration of the present county organization: fees; salaries; office accounting; tax lists; budgets; classified expenditures.

Provide for systematic interest and support of county officials in the performance of their difficult duties; provide plans for the increase of support for public service.

Describe the county institutions for relief, for childrens' welfare, for the feeble-minded, epileptic and insane.

Give the history of road and bridge building in the county for the last five years; describe the present status of roads and prospects for the future.

Give one meeting over to the discussion of the University of North Carolina Bulletin, "COUNTY GOVERNMENT AND COUNTY AFFAIRS", edited by Dr. Branson.

At the time of writing this Bulletin there has just come from census reports the statement that in one of our states (Missouri) out of sixty-one counties for which complete returns are available fifty-three, or more than 85% showed a decrease in population and the remainder an increase. Some of the decrease was as large as 19%. The fifty-three counties with decreases were rural counties. The others were counties of large cities!

Work out the meaning for this tendency in the number of counties of the 3,000 and more in this country and see what it means to the nation. Is the following section of this manual, under these circumstances, not worthy of careful study?

To what extent is the citizenship of the county acquainted with the services of the state department of agriculture, the State A. and E. College, and the University department of rural social science and the division of county home comforts?

THE PROBLEMS OF COUNTRY LIFE

88. City and country. In the foregoing discussions and outlines relative to county government, less space and detailed suggestions are given, not because less important but for two other reasons: The first is that the method of study and outlines illustrated in Part I for towns and cities is equally applicable here, and that standard services of health, education, recreation and the like are the same in general everywhere. It will only be necessary, therefore, for the more comprehensive study of the county government to make similar classifications, studies, and projects for each of the county activities, within the special limitations outlined for the county. While the problems of the town and city seem more easily approachable similar problems of the county can be studied; one of the greatest possible services that the citizen can perform here would be to bring to the same status of knowledge and efficiency the matters of county government as are now prevailing in the best of towns and cities. What club will be the first to enter this field of constructive citizenship?

The other reason for the limitation of treatment is found in the fact that much of the best citizen effort and constructive government measures must arise from the careful consideration of country life problems in terms of needs and difficulties rather than in terms of government. This is equally true for the national government in its wide efforts to help country life and in the conservation of resources and assistance to the farm man and farm woman. It is generally agreed that permanent stability and progress in the nation must depend to a large extent upon prosperity, progress and welfare in the open country of America. The prosperity of the city, with its secondary occupations is dependent upon the country with its primary occupations; the city, therefore, owes something of service to the country and a section was included in the outlines of municipal social services to indicate that a municipality must not only be "city-building" but "country-serving" as well. All these facts of importance are admitted but their significance as well as the solution of the difficulties involved, like county government, are assumed.

89. The scope and treatment. Concrete, but comprehensive, problems of country life may be the basis of the conviction "the rural community a bulwark of national power." A close study of the several divisions of the subject and a comparison of actual conditions in the country with ideals in each division will reveal something of the citizen task ahead. The twenty divisions may be roughly classified into three general groups with prevailing emphasis on economic, social and organization aspects. In the first group are the business of farming, marketing and buying, transportation and good roads, communication and accessibility, finance for the farmer, business organization and co-operation, in each of which division the country districts in North Carolina are backward. The second group pertains more largely to social and institutional aspects of country life and includes health and sanitation, social satisfactions, the rural church, the rural school, civic efforts and adult education, publicity and newspapers, country womanhood, the country home and family. The third group pertains more nearly to the aspects of individuality, leadership and organization in the country and includes the subjects of rural aesthetics,

rural values, the development and recognition of rural leadership, community growth and expansion, and co-operation with government. If we examine the graphical illustration it will be seen that the rural community has its first base in the actual economic business of farming and that it has its final or essential basis in government. The climax of the community, however, is in the three social institutions, the home, the school and the church, with the most general emphasis upon the school. In all these aspects, inseparably related to each other and to the welfare of the people, it may readily be seen that it would profit us little to gain for our counties and countryside all the prosperity of the outlined possibilities and to lose in the end final adjustment in government and public welfare.

90. Projects and questions. After the manner of the previous studies, take each subject listed above and describe in detail its scope of problem and opportunity and its possibilities of projects.

Can the rural districts ever develop with all the possibilities of a state and county government's maximum services until good roads make accessibility at all times a common fact? Why then are good roads neglected?

Plan a meeting in which the group will attempt to determine just what is the "country-life" problem in your county, and what steps can be taken toward co-operation between town and country.

Draw up a plan for a town market in which both the workers of the town and the workers of the country will benefit, and in which both the homes of the country and the homes of the town will reduce the cost of living.

Work out, with small committees and with the aid of interested farmers and merchants, some plans for improving the tenant system in the county and yet one that will appeal at once as economically sound.

Analyze the present federal loan system for farmers and suggest plans whereby the farmers of the county may get together on such a plan more frequently than at present.

Make a study of the county records of mortgages, loans and of the laws relating to all matters of finance as it affects the farmer and his family.

Describe at least one co-operative association in which farmers and townspeople come together and in which county officials may become interested.

Present to a group of bankers and other business men some practical plans of extending credits to farmers through live stock and other securities.

Interest the county officials and others in providing for a county farm demonstrator and a county home demonstration agent for the improvement of home and farm conditions.

Describe the routine day's work of a score of women on the farm.

Classify all governmental assistance that may be had by the farmer and his family in the every-day life and labor on the farm.

Write the story of the difficulties in the last five years that have been in the way of government officials in the promotion of health, the prevention of disease, the promotion of better farming and home life, the promotion of public welfare, the eradication of disease of cattle and all other co-operative efforts.

PART IV

GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SERVICE OF THE STATE

91. State problems. The technical government of the state as expressed through its legislative, executive and judicial branches has been described and assigned for study in Dean Carroll's former "STUDIES IN CITIZENSHIP FOR WOMEN". Important facts involved in the franchise in North Carolina are given at the end of this part of the bulletin. There remain to consider, as in the case of local government, the problems of general service to the people and the departmental means of rendering such service. Of course the state is made up of the elements of county, city, town, village and open country whose problems of governmental service have been sketched in the foregoing pages. But, outside the powers of national government, the state is vested with certain fundamental larger functions relating to the principal services to be rendered its citizens. It retains certain larger powers and assigns units of these powers to counties and cities, at the same time retaining many of the privileges of oversight and supervision. Besides, therefore, the same human interests that have been described in specific departments of city, town and county, the state is sovereign in determining policies of education, health, public welfare, finances, industrial relations, and others.

There are those who have affirmed that the Old North State combines perhaps more of the total conditions essential to the development of the ideals of after-war American democracy than any other state in the union. Such a statement comes not only from within the state but from those conversant with national tendencies and possibilities outside the state. The history and composition of the population; the growth and distribution of wealth; the nature of its industries; its relations between labor and capital; its town and country life; its prevailing institutions; its difficult problems; its promise of achievement; its successful experiments; its freedom of spirit and allegiance to principles; its forms of government—all these are appropriate for the merging of the best American traditions with the quest of the future goals. But whether this be true or not, the citizens

of North Carolina owe it not only to the state itself, but especially to the nation, to approximate within her borders the nearest possible approach to the democracy of the future. And yet, for the most part, it is difficult to find among citizens the keen interest and realization of the bigness of the present moment or the adequate knowledge of the essential progressive steps which the state has been making, of the difficulties now involved. With her new and advanced legislation in public welfare, public health, public education, as well as other aspects of public service, there is needed a revitalizing of citizen interest and citizen knowledge of and citizen support of the needs of government now striving to develop the human and physical resources of the state. There is needed also a keen interest in, a knowledge of and an opposition to such backward tendencies on the part of citizenship as may develop—as are always developing. Here is challenge unparalleled for the woman citizen to join in bringing about the achievement of great results in the domain of North Carolina democracy. This is to achieve records in state government worthy of the ideals of the republican form of government under which we live.

92. **The scope.** The citizen ideal of government would include a federated plan of state public service in which all departments and officials co-operated to the fullest extent under provisions made possible by a liberal legislature, the executive concurring and leading, and the judicial branch upholding. The legislature and other elected officers should be elected in accordance with their ideals, knowledge and support of the common good as expressed in the fundamentals of the state government. Such a federated service in North Carolina, as at present organized, will include:

The governor of the state, the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary of the state board of health, the commissioner of public welfare, the commisssioner of agriculture, the commissioner of labor and printing, the commissioner of insurance, the secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, the chairman of the state highway commission, the secretary of the North Carolina Library Commission.

In addition to these and the legislative and judicial officers, there are further, in the departments of general public

service, the chairman of the state fisheries commission, the chairman of the state board of elections, the superintendent of the state prison, the state highway engineer, the state librarian, the director of the state laboratory of hygiene, the state geologist, the adjutant general, and others of allied interests and separate bureaus under the direction of the principal officials above listed.

93. Federated public service. It is anticipated that the Old North State will forge ahead in its public services and that a plan for a state federation of public service in which the governor is so much interested will be forthcoming at an early date. The greater project of a federated service of all citizens working together to elect and support efficient officials committed to progress and the public good is an even more laudable ambition. Certainly woman's part in government can find here a rich field of endeavor.

94. Projects. In the following pages four departments of the state's public service are sketched with outline and suggestions. Select from among the remaining departments, listed below, one or more in which special interest is manifested or special service can be rendered, and outline its functions and organization.

The department of agriculture, department of labor and printing, department of insurance, North Carolina historical commission, legislative reference library, state library of North Carolina, library commission of North Carolina, North Carolina geological and economic survey, state highway commission, fisheries commission board, state board of elections, fireman's relief fund, Audobon Society of North Carolina, state educational commission, commission of revision of laws, board of internal improvement, North Carolina national guard, state standard keeper.

In Part V make special study, through the dramatization plans, of the executive, legislative and judicial departments.

Draw up a functional organization chart of the entire state public service, accompany this with a functional statement of duties of each state officer.

PUBLIC FINANCE AND BUSINESS

95. The scope. What greater tribute to the importance and high motives of those who provide the public finance has been found than the spectacle of a great nation aroused to fight for the principles which should result in victory for democratic forms of government—and yet, a nation that found its first essential to be a matter of public finance? What greater tribute to the efficacy of finance in great causes than the measure and speed of the victory won? The great campaigns of raising the public funds for the public good will always remain an epoch-making chapter in the history of the nation. And yet one of the greatest results of the entire projects of raising moneys for the prosecution of the war was the training in citizenship which came to America. Especially was the training in method and procedure notable in respect to the great body of American women citizens who stood by and carried on with poise, zeal and effective results. Financial emergencies during the war and the late pre-war period also developed the power of the government to serve its people through means of financial assistance, through sound methods of financing, extension of aid to sections of the country, and the provision for reserve checks upon the nation's resources. Here again was a matter of government functioning through finances for the common good and for the training of citizens in newer opportunities of government.

The principle involved in the financing of the greatest project of the nation is but typical of the problems and opportunities of the state to finance its own programs of technical government and public service. Public finances, in which the average citizen is so little interested except to complain of taxes, is after all the problem of the way in which a state obtains and expends its very subsistence. It is a very matter of fact truth that the state must have money to perform its function; and that its functions consist in serving its citizenship through formal governmental efforts. How strange, therefore, that citizens should assume that such matters of government will automatically take care of themselves! How strange that citizens should complain of an annual expenditure of less than three dollars a year for the total benefits of state government returned to them

in services of health, protection, education, public welfare, conveniences, advanced property values, all for a total cost of what is expended momentarily for a trifle in everyday pleasure-life! The explanation is a simple one: the citizens have not thought it out and have not participated in their opportunities as citizens.

96. Forms of co-operation. Perhaps the best forms of citizen co-operation that can be named is a study of North Carolina facts of finance in relation to the services rendered by the state. The following tabulations were made by Doctor E. C. Branson, head of the department of rural social science at the University of North Carolina. North Carolina, according to Dr. Branson's compilation from the U. S. census report on statistics of states is next to the last of all states in the amount per capita that is expended for government. This amount is $2.54. The amounts of other states go as high as $19.25 while the average is $6.05 per capita. The details of expenditure are as follows:

1.	Schools and libraries	$ .75
2.	Charities, hospitals, and corrections	.51
3.	Old soldiers' pensions, printing, etc	.27
4.	Outlays for schools, hospitals, etc	.20
5.	State administration costs	.18
6.	Conserving natural resources, mainly agriculture	.18
7.	Interest on bonded and floating debt	.18
8.	Health and sanitation	.10
9.	Protection of person and property	.09
10.	Highways	.08
	Total	$2.54

But what of the state's income? Where does it obtain this money and what are the methods of raising the public funds? The receipts for 1919 are listed as follows:

1.	General property taxes	$2,653,609
2.	General department earnings	1,212,349
3.	Business taxes	1,040,796
	(1) On the business of insurance companies and other corporations	$ 491,799

	(2) On individual incomes	120,012	
	(3) Automobile licenses	427,545	
	(4) Hunting and fishing	1,440	
4.	Special property taxes		527,449
	(1) Inheritance taxes	400,866	
	(2) Corporation stock taxes	126,583	
5.	Sale of bonds, warrants, etc		591,451
6.	Occupation and privilege taxes, B and C schedules		456,053
7.	Sale of supplies and investments		448,699
	(1) Supplies	$ 322,793	
	(2) Public trust funds for state uses	125,906	
8.	Interest and rent		339,354
	(1) On investments and investment funds	248,012	
	(2) On deposits	34,598	
	(3) Public trust funds	51,806	
	(4) Rents	4,938	
9.	Federal grants		197,236
	(1) For education	$ 86,465	
	(2) For Experiment Station, Farm Extension, etc	110,771	
10.	Donations		74,175
11.	Other special revenues		55,358
	Incorporation or organization taxes, stock transfers, etc.		
12.	Poll taxes		42,404
13.	Fines, forfeits, and escheats		14,535
	Grand total		$7,653,468

97. Projects and questions. Compare the per capita cost of state government in North Carolina with that of the other states in the Union.

Compare the amounts spent for the special purposes with similar amounts spent by other states.

Distribute the $1.00 spent in state government according to the purposes for which expended.

Compare the wealth of North Carolina with other states of the Union.

Compare the ideals of citizenship and history of the Old North State with any other states.

Plan methods of showing the taxpayer that practically all of his taxes come back to him in direct services rendered; and of showing the legislator or prospective legislator that his obligation is to render more faithful, not less faithful, services to his people.

Analyze the salient features of the revaluation act and point out its future values to those who are responsible for public finance.

Make a special study of the current report of the North Carolina corporation commission.

PUBLIC CHARITIES AND WELFARE

98. The scope. The North Carolina system of social legislation has been pronounced somewhat in advance of any in the nation in some respects. It is typical of the living, throbbing tendencies of the day to bring about the public welfare by the services of a democratic form of government having in mind services to all the people. Like all aspects of government, however, it must needs have support and co-operation. Citizenship, co-operation and patriotism are needed all the more in these ventures which blaze the trail toward new goals of achievement in public welfare. The particular organization through which governmental welfare is administered is the Board of Charities and Public Welfare. Its administrative officer is a COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE whose department has also a BUREAU OF CHILD WELFARE, with its director, and a BUREAU OF COUNTY ORGANIZATION with its director. In the counties the organization, as already suggested in county government, consists of a county superintendent of public welfare, with such assistance as the county may designate. The county superintendent of public welfare works with the county superintendent of schools. The functions of the department of charities and public welfare are many: to maintain its offices for the execution of its legislated tasks; to promote public welfare through study, research, publicity, and

official duties; to assist and direct counties in their organization of public welfare and to supervise their work; to inspect and supervise the work of state eleemosynary institutions; to assist in enforcing the compulsory school attendance law; to advise concerning the disbursement of poor funds; to promote the welfare of persons in prison and those discharged; to prevent and correct dependency, delinquency, and defectives in the state; to supervise probation work in the state; to promote wholesome recreation; to bring about the enforcement of all public welfare laws; to supervise and advise with the executive secretary of the child welfare commission; to co-operate with national, state and county agencies for the promotion of the public good. Working closely with the commissioner of public welfare is the university school of public welfare with its programs for training in social work, teaching citizenship in class and out; community assistance, and research and publication.

99. Forms of co-operation. Perhaps nowhere can there be found more suitable opportunity for the participation by women in the matters of the common weal than in their co-operation with all forms of technical public welfare. Here are the problems of child welfare, with its myriad appeals to womanhood; here are the problems of the family and the home, both the development of the normal home and the readjustment of the unfortunate homes; here are the avenues of approach to the problems of morality, dependency, delinquency and the defective citizen and child; here are the problems of the alms houses, the childrens' homes, the institution for aged and infirm; for the feebleminded and unfortunate in life Here, too, is the basis of furthering the profession, full of promise in the enrichment of woman's professional life, of social work and community leadership. What has become a profession typical of the best efforts of the woman worker is reinforced by the opportunities to serve in public and community capacity through the modes of governmental authorization. The forms of co-operation are many: citizen interest and inquiry into the facts; instruction in the needs of public welfare; the spreading of information and sentiment in favor of the maximum service; inspection of work done in the town and county; studies of actual conditions; studies of what ought and can be done; com-

munication with county boards of commissioners; with legislators; support of the state department and co-operation with its programs; bringing philanthropy to supplement the public funds; co-operating with private and voluntary agencies; seeking efficient officials and workers believing in the common good as expressed in the ideals of this democracy.

100. Projects and questions. Confer at once with the county superintendent of public welfare in the county and learn of his work and plans.

Offer to co-operate, and to bring others to co-operate with the county superintendent of public welfare and his workers.

Contribute to the feeling of "well done" on the part of commissioners who have made possible the organization of the welfare work in the county.

Make a study of all cases of dependency, and poverty in the community—in the county—at the present time.

Make a study of the cases of child misfortune and irregularity now in the community or county.

Write the story of the treatment of the aged and infirm within the last two years.

Survey the total efforts for child welfare and for recreation in the community.

Become acquainted with the state and county institutions for helping the unfortunates in the democracy.

Sketch on an outline map of the state the counties which have the several public institutions, with locations of each.

Describe the organization and resources of the state's public institutions for public relief.

Direct effective interest and support to some one or more of the state's institutions mentioned below:

FOR CHILD WELFARE—Jackson Training School at Concord, for delinquent white boys; Samarcand Manor, at Samarcand, for delinquent white girls; Caswell Training School, at Kinston, for mentally defective white children; School for the Deaf, at Morganton, for white children; School for the Blind, at Raleigh, for white children; School for the Blind and Deaf, at Raleigh, for colored children.

Do you know that there are no county child-caring institutions in the state?

The Children's Home Society of North Carolina, at Greensboro, is the child-placing agency in the state.

The Institution for Crippled Children, an orthopaedic hospital is being constructed at Gastonia.

There are nineteen orphans' homes in the state: at Charlotte, Thomasville, Elon College, Asheville, Falcon, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, High Point, Balfour, Crescent, Goldsboro, Oxford, Barium Springs, Clayton, Nazareth, Belmont. Some of these, Raleigh, Charlotte, and Asheville, have more than one, including the white and colored.

FOR MENTAL DEFECTIVES—State Hospital at Raleigh; State Hospital for the Dangerous Insane, at Raleigh; State Hospital, at Morganton; State Hospital, at Goldsboro; Caswell Training School, at Kinston.

There are six private hospitals for the treatment of nervous and mental cases: at Greensboro, Morganton, Asheville, Charlotte, the last two having more than one.

There is no institution provided by the state for the idiotic and feebleminded.

FOR DELINQUENTS—Two reform schools as listed above; the state prison at Raleigh—penitentiary; county chain gangs and county prisons, local lock-ups and prisons; probation courts and procedure.

Make a study of the prison labor laws and study the state standards of administration.

FOR THE CARE OF THE POOR: Compare county institutions with needs and standards and with other institutions lik the home for the aged and infirm at Greensboro, or the Masonic and Eastern Star Home.

PUBLIC HEALTH

101. The scope. Citizens of North Carolina know of their state board of health and the state health officer through the unusually effective work that has been done and is being done, through the national reputation which is being achieved, and through the general opinion that the health of the state is being well provided for. What most citizens do not know is the detailed organization of an efficient board and its administration; the wide and diversified scope of its services; and the difficulties

involved in the execution of so large a project of state governmental services. Perhaps the average citizen does not know the extent to which the state health officer as the executive and secretary of the board must co-operate with local state and national agencies, or the need for citizen co-operation in all the tasks of public health. The North Carolina board of health, consisting of nine members, of whom five are appointed by the governor and four elected by the North Carolina state medical society, emphasizes three fundamental values: the stability of organization and permanency of policies; the partnership of state with citizens in the medical profession; and the non-political character of its personnel. This gives an ideal avenue for citizen co-operation in the promotion of all means for the conservation of human life and the promotion of the health of the people.

The administrative organization is as follows: A bureau of county health work; a bureau of vital statistics; a bureau of medical inspection of schools; a bureau of infant hygiene and public health nursing; a bureau of venereal diseases; a bureau of tuberculosis; a bureau of epidermiology; a bureau of engineering and inspection; a state laboratory of hygiene.

102. Forms of co-operation. In these divisions of the work the citizen will find varied functions: To interest county authorities in health matters and advise and assist in the working out of their problems; to secure certificates for every birth and death and to keep accurate records; to interest school authorities in the health of children and to assist in medical examination and treatment of defectives; to save babies by the thousands; and to educate mothers; to examine water supplies, blood and disease specimens, and to manufacture and distribute vaccine and antitoxin; to bring about a better understanding of sex hygiene and reduce venereal diseases; to manage the state sanitarium and to stimulate all efforts toward the prevention of tuberculosis; to secure reports of all contagious diseases and to control epidemics; to offer inspections services in the matter of sanitation and health conditions in public buildings; to promote in every way possible the health of the people and to conserve human life; to co-operate with and supervise the work of counties whose officers are a health officer, a quarantine officer, a county health nurse.

Citizen interest and enthusiasm in plans for county health officers and nurses; co-operation in the making out of accurate birth and death statistics and helping others to do the same; co-operative and personal services in the examination of children and in the treatment of remediable defects; child welfare exhibits; community instruction to mothers and coming mothers; the holding of baby-saving days or weeks; the promotion of sanitation; the encouragement of ordinance preventing contagious diseases from spreading; inspection of water and milk supplies; to plan the elimination of immoral conditions and to co-operate in the teaching of sex hygiene; co-operation with representatives of the state board wherever possible; to the giving of publicity to health propaganda. Exhibits, lectures, visits, instruction, study, co-operation.

103. Projects and questions. Sketch on an outline map of the state the counties with county health officers; county nurses.

Describe the health program in the county and adjacent counties.

Give the death rate for the county, by causes, for the last five-year period.

Work out plans for a complete county health program, including nurses, hospital, health officer.

Classify the deaths of children under five years of age, in the county, according to preventable or non-preventable causes.

Compile health and sanitation ordinances applying to local counties.

Compare the administrative organization of the North Carolina board of health with other states.

Arrange for frequent meetings and other publicity for health work.

Enumerate the principal hospitals in the state. How many counties provide hospital facilities?

PUBLIC EDUCATION

104. The scope. The action of the recent special session of the legislature in granting every request made by the superintendent of public instruction has called attention concretely to the enlarged program of public instruction in the state. It shows further the effectiveness of citizen co-operation in gov-

ernment relating to the public schools and the efficiency with which the program was worked out and presented to the law makers. The results of this new program will go far toward putting North Carolina in the forefront of educational programs if the citizens will become informed, maintain a constant interest and intelligent information, and choose efficient county school officials. The state department of public instruction is ready and able to contribute a program of educational statesmanship if it can have citizen co-operation in its programs of state development.

The state department maintains the following services: Superintendence and direction of public instruction; supervision of teacher-training; inspection of high schools; inspection of rural schools; direction and inspection of vocational schools direction and maintenance of community recreation service; direction and maintenance of adult illiteracy teaching; supervision of construction of school houses; the tabulation of statistics and issuing of reports and publicity.

The functions of such a department are self-evident from the classification of services. It is the purpose of the department, with its several divisions, besides the special functions, to promote in every way possible higher standards of instruction; to suggest suitable school taxes and co-operate in obtaining them; to co-operate in the enforcement of the school attendance law; to co-operate with the superintendents of public welfare; to co-operate with home and farm demonstration service; to co-operate in the incorporation of rural communities; to promote suitable legislation for school welfare; to issue licenses to teachers, fix standards of preparation, and fix scales of salaries.

105. Forms of co-operation. Of special importance in the citizen's work are the state institutions of higher learning, a list of which is given below for further study.

Perhaps nowhere will woman's part in government be more effective than in the development and maintenance of standards of excellence in school matters. There are the same modes of co-operation described in the chapter on local problems. But there is need for citizen co-operation in the state program; citizen interest in equal opportunity for all boys and girls; co-

operation in the compulsory attendance law enforcement; interest in the election of good officials; participation as members of school boards; co-operation in the training of teachers; creation of interest in better school houses; school meetings; school fairs; school exhibits; conferences; special interest and co-operation in the work of the state's institutions of higher learning.

106. Projects and questions. Sketch a map of the state showing counties having community recreation service; illiteracy work.

Classify counties according to their high school facilities.

Classify counties according to the per capita amount spent for public schools.

Describe the organization of the community service bureau.

Describe the organization of the adult illiteracy work.

Describe the new system of teachers' salaries according to professional preparation.

Compare the negro schools with the white, in equipment, location, maintenance, teachers, attendance.

Inquire into the needs and present organization of the state educational institutions: The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; the North Carolina State Vollege for Women, Greensboro; the East Carolina Teachers' Training School, Greenville; the North Carolina A. & E. College, Raleigh; the Cullowhee Normal School, Cullowhee; the Agricultural and Training School, Greensboro; the Negro State Normal Schools at Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, and Winston-Salem; the Indian Normal School.

THE BUSINESS OF VOTING IN NORTH CAROLINA

107. Voting essential. After the citizen—whether the young citizen just becoming of age, or the woman citizen ushered into the new privileges and obligations of citizenship, or whether the man of years of civic illiteracy and negligence—has mastered the underlying principles and facts which enable the right use of the ballot, there is still left the actual process and fact of voting. And voting is necessary. It ought to be considered the highest of privileges and duties. The "citizen" who boasts of aloofness from politics and government is boasting of unreality because her government is all about her in the forms of

freedom and protection and public services. What sort of logic is it that causes a citizen to say: "Behold, my government and its politics, in which reside the sovereign power to render me all services which I need and want, are so bad and furnish me with so few of my due services, that I shall therefore have nothing to do with them in order that they may become worse and furnish me with still less of the services which I so much need and desire." If politics is wrong, to stay out is to turn over to those who make it wrong the power to make it worse; if right, to stay out is to magnify selfish individualism and the shirking of a fair share of responsibility; for politics is the science of government! Do women stay out of politics because other women, whose standards they do not consider sufficiently high to partake of government, enter? Then they agree to turn over their politics and government to just those whom they feel incapable of government. Surely, with the franchise comes both the challenge to become rounded in the fundamentals of citizenship and to exercise the ballot in the promotion of better government.

108. Special act. In order to facilitate the registration and voting of women in the next elections the special session of the North Carolina General Assembly in the summer of 1920 passed a special act. This act is given here for quick reference and to introduce the basis for November voting at the polls.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That the word "male" in line two of section five thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven of the Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina be stricken out.

Sec. 2. That sections five thousand nine hundred and forty-one and five thousand nine hundred and forty-two of the Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina shall not apply to women.

Sec. 3. That nothing in any of the laws of North Carolina shall be so construed as to prevent the registration and voting of women twenty-one years of age and having the other qualifications for registration and voting as provided for men for the year one thousand and nine hundred and twenty.

Sec. 4. That for the purpose of the registration and voting of women, the residence of a married woman living with her husband shall be where her husband resides, and of a woman

living separate and apart from her husband or where for any reason her husband has no legal residence in this state, then the residence of such woman shall be where she actually resides.

Sec. 5. That this act shall apply to all primaries and elections.

Sec. 6. That this act shall be in force and effect from and after the legal ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: **Provided, however,** that this act shall be inoperative in the event the court of last resort shall declare said ratification illegal.

Ratified this the 26th day of August, A. D. 1920.

109. The basis of suffrage. For official information and instruction concerning the elections inquiry should be made of the county board of elections, or the state board of elections at Raleigh, who are charged with the matter of facilitating all election machinery and instructing the voters as well. Inquiry may also be made of local officials or friends whose special interests and situations enable them to devote time to co-operating in the matter of preparation for voting.

110. Women voters. For the purpose, however, of beginning the process of further study of this aspect of citizenship and to continue the method of **active** study, it will be well to introduce here the elementary basis of voting in this state. From the act quoted above it will be seen that the way is made easy and clear for the woman voter. Section 5941 and 5942 refer to the requirements for the payment of a poll tax and for the exhibition of the receipt for such tax before voting. This requirement is eliminated in the case of women voters. It will be seen further that all other conditions and qualifications prevail as apply to male voters except that the woman voter need not state the exact age upon which she bases her right to vote but may return her age as twenty-one years or over.

There need not be described in detail any matters relative to the voting for electors for the president and vice-president for the reason that those who are qualified to vote the state ticket may also vote for national officials. Likewise, qualifications for the general elections make eligible for voting for special measures, bonds, amendments. See the general election law for details.

111. Dates. The date fixed for the general election of local state and national officers is the same: The first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. At the same time congressmen, members of the general assembly and township officers are elected. For state and national elections the time is fixed for the above-mentioned date every four years. For county officers, congressmen and township officers elections are held on the same day of the month but every two years. Special election for vacancies in the general assembly may be held at such time as the governor may appoint. Justices of the supreme court and judges of the superior court are elected for eight years.

112. Place. The place of voting is fixed by the county board of elections. Each voter must vote in her own precinct, ward or township, and any change in place must be designated by the county board at least twenty days before election. At each precinct, ward or township polling place the registrar shall attend in person each Saturday during the period of registration of voters.

113. Qualifications. The qualifications of voters require: naturalization, residence in North Carolina for two years, in county for six months, and in precinct, ward or election district for four months; 21 years of age or over; ability to read and write; sound mind; without criminal record of felony.

114. Registration. But only such persons as are registered are entitled to vote. The time and method of registration are provided in the requirement that the registration books be open at least twenty days continuously prior to the date of closing registration which is sunset on the second Saturday before each election. On each Saturday of this period the registrar must be at the polling place with his registration books. All registration shall be during this time, except that a person who has become qualified for voting subsequent to the closing of the registration books may register on election day.

115. Polls. The polls are open from sunrise to sunset of each election day and no longer. Ballot boxes are provided for each class of officers to be voted for, that is, state officers; the justices of the supreme court, judges of the superior courts, United States senators; members of congress; presidential electors; solicitors and county officials; and officers of the township; a separate ballot for each of which classes must be used.

116. Candidates. For whom does the citizen vote? Presidential and vice-presidential electors and United States senators and congressmen; state officers: governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer, superintendent of public instruction, attorney-general, and other state four-years officers; justices of the supreme court and judges of the superior court; congressmen and members of the general assembly from the several districts and counties; county officials: register of deeds, county surveyor, coroner, sheriff, treasurer and county commissioners, if elected and other county officers, and for clerks of the superior court and solicitors; for constables and justices of the peace in such townships as elect these officers by the vote of the people.

117. Primary. There is also a general primary election the date of which is the first Saturday in June next preceding each general election in November as outlined above. The purpose of this election is to vote on candidates of each political party. In this primary also may be voted preference for candidates for president and vice-president of the United States. Such primaries are normally governed by the general election laws. Numerous safeguards and official forms are prescribed, all of which are given in the North Carolina election law.

118. Penalties. The normal mode of citizenship assumes the utmost uprightness and honor in all matters of voting. Clean government is the ideal of citizenship and safeguards are placed around the methods of conducting elections. As in other matters of government, however, there are penalties for the violation of these standards, and these penalties are protection to the good voter and promote citizen liberty. Punishment for misdemeanor will be prescribed for the failure to perform duty as elector, to interfere with elections or officers, to disturb election officers in the performance of their duties, to bet on elections, to intimidate or oppress voters, to make campaign contributions, to publish unsigned derogatory matter against candidates, to circulate false charges against candidates; likewise the penalty of a felony will be enforced for registering in more than one precinct or for impersonating other voters, for buying or selling votes, for making false entries, for swearing

falsely, for false qualification. Other offenses may arise, such as voting of unqualified persons at elections, false oaths, wilful failure of official to do his duty, making false returns, using corporate funds for political purposes, and the like.

119. Projects. In all these important matters the citizen will recognize the form and substance of democratic government. What will make this government better? What would make it worse? What are the long-run penalties of a community or state or nation whose citizens are not active citizens? What are the supreme duties of the citizen-voter? Is it all of suffrage to vote or all of citizenship to learn? Why is this a government by parties? What is the boss system and how eliminate it?

Why not devote an early meeting of the group to the careful consideration of the North Carolina election law, this being Chapel 97 of the Consolidated Statutes? It is fascinating reading and the basis of constructive knowledge.

Why not take a "census," on the one hand of the members of the group, and on the other, of the prospective candidates, to ascertain what proportion of the candidates are known or have made clear their positions with reference to the greater fundamentals of service for which they ask votes?

PART V

THE REAL PROBLEMS OF AMERICANIZATION

120. Qualities of American government. In an address delivered before the Daughters of the American Revolution, President Wilson expressed the feeling of joy that "we belong to a country in which the whole business of government is so difficult." Our government is "a universal communication of conviction, the most subtle, delicate and difficult of processes" in which, however, there is not to be found a single opinion that is not of some consequence to the grand total; "to be in the great co-operative effort is the most stimulating thing in the world." These points of emphasis—the difficulty, the stimulating qualities, the companionable efforts—are all the more applicable in these days of new parts in the great co-operative effort of democracy. The present tasks of citizenship, which, after all, are the real tasks of Americanization, challenge the American woman to her contributions of new forces to the constant creation of the ideals of America. There is, too, another quality, constantly emphasized in the previous pages of this manual, which is necessary to the achievement of genuine Americanization. Here, again, the expression of President Wilson gives true emphasis: "For it seems to me," he says, "that the peculiarity of patriotism in America is that it is not a mere sentiment. It is an active principle of conduct."

121. The spirit of American institutions. The spirit of **Americanization** is the spirit of America in its truest ideals. This spirit must be within us, interpreted and enacted in the principles of citizenship and service, before it can be transferred to new-coming citizens. The expensive paid worker who tells the foreign-born unfortunate that he should be thankful for whatever condition he finds in America, forsooth because it is better than the old world at that, does not express the ideals of American citizenship. Nor does the native citizen, affirming, in matters of justice and right as it relates to the negro population, that the negro should be satisfied because conditions are better than in Africa or in slavery, express the ideals and spirit of North Carolina or the nation. America and the states with their freedom of rights and their spirit of democratic liberty

were founded on principles of right and justice interpreted and enacted in conformity to governmental services that will render the largest good to the largest number, striving for approximation, in the end, to perfect service to all. It is clear, therefore, to quote Dean Edwin Greenlaw in his introduction to "OUR HERITAGE", that "the future of America depends not merely on our continuing to observe the forms laid down by the Constitution—the succession of political campaigns and elections, the exercise of the right to suffrage; not merely on assertion of Americanism and loyalty to our institutions, but also upon the degree to which we keep burning in the hearts of the people the ideals of which our institutions of government are but the outward symbol, so that these institutions are created anew by each generation as it plays its part in America's life."

122. Citizenship a test of Americanism. One could almost hope for an era in which only those people whose qualifications for the above ideals would enable them to express their part in government through the ballot; and that thereby all people would come to qualify for the expression of the true American spirit; and that conditions would be so prepared that all citizens could avail themselves of the opportunities of citizenship based upon the true qualifications; and that, furthermore, civic illiteracy among us all, the elimination of which is one of our most real Americanization problems, would be a decreasing proportion among us, even as educational illiteracy is now. Here, then, is a national problem: To interpret and re-interpret the spirit of the real America and her institutions; to prepare citizens, young and old, in this interpretation; to insure a situation in which knowledge of institutions and government becomes the prerequisite for citizenship. It is one of the fascinating outlooks of the present time that woman's obligations to become active citizens will enable her to enter her tremendous powers and forces in the national problems of interpreting and perfecting citizenship on the basis of service and information. Here will be force and example to stimulate all citizens alike to this Americanization problem. Is it, then, a supreme problem of Americanization to see that the woman voter carries the nation a step further in the original American ideals? Would that some such power and influence would bring to the great polit-

ical parties and their platforms clearer enunciation and enactment of these principles. And who but citizens may bring about a realization of this kind.

123. **Limited meaning.** For the present purpose, therefore, Americanization in North Carolina studies in citizenship will be considered entirely exclusive of the conventional meaning of training foreign-born citizens into American ideals. This is of the utmost importance and the efforts and successes in this direction constitute and will continue to constitute memorable chapters in the nation. But for the purposes of this manual our problems of Americanization are the problems of making ourselves 100 per cent citizens, of training the youth of the coming generation in these ideals, and of adapting in civic justice the negro natives who constitute a large proportion of our population. There are, to be sure, many aspects of these problems. And these aspects should be interpreted concretely as tasks of definite active citizenship, as nearly as possible. But the prevailing ideal is that of training ourselves and others in the qualities of citizenship required by the needs of city, county, town, village, rural community, state, nation, as outlined by the best civic leadership.

124. **The political parties.** If the new citizen, searching after the best national service, wishes to learn new truths and perform new services, a wide field of study and effort is available. She will not only concern herself with the presidential and vice-presidential electors; with the study of the forms of the Constitution through which the president, vice-president, the legislative body, the judicial body are chosen and function. She will do this and more. She will study the party system and become grounded in the history and fundamentals of the parties and of the problems that have been attacked through the party system, rather than through individual or personal effort single-handed. She will do this and more. She will, following the ideals set forth in the preceding chapters on city, county and state government, search out the fundamental medium of service through which the national government ministers to its citizens and perfects them in the ways of better citizenship. The national government, too, is a part of us all, round about us with its power of might to render the right effective, and with

its increasing possibilities for directing and rendering social service to its citizens through co-operation with the units of local government. What are the fundamental divisions of the national service? How do they function? Do they function adequately through well-organized departments and divisions? Are there enough departments to meet the needs of the government today with its growing visions of social and economic service? Do the political parties, in the attempt to build great constructive platforms, recognize the importance of the national departments and the careful selection of cabinet members? Will they select candidates who will select members of the cabinet for their special fitness to interpret and render the due services to the nation rather than for their political influence alone? The great political conventions, potent with the capacity to become American institutions of unlimited creative force, are but the representatives of the people—the citizens. Do, then, the citizens control these conventions, guaranteeing that they will express the will and choice of the people in their selections? It is not enough to affirm that the people may reject the candidates of the convention choice if such candidate is not of their liking; the people must vote for their nominees. Shall not one of the new ideals of American citizenship be, therefore, the magnifying, by the conventions, of service to the people through the entire governmental organization?

125. National service. Most of the larger problems of national and international affairs—those that affect us today with such power for good or evil—must be directed through the channels of departments of national government. War, adjustment of capital and labor, taxation, immigration, ideals of justice, and others, administered in accordance with the ideals of democracy will send America far on her way to the perfection of her ideals and far away from the ideals of any sort of bolshevism of anti-American doctrines. But the people-citizens must keep in close touch with the promotion and enactment of these ideals. Americanization in this sense of the word will mean the perfection of our knowledge and citizenship as they function through the great departments of national service that now exist and perhaps others that are to be established in the near future. What are the divisions of labor in the national service

as distributed among the ten great departments: The secretary of state, secretary of the treasury, secretary of war, secretary of the navy, the postmaster general, secretary of the interior, secretary of agriculture, secretary of commerce, and secretary of labor? In all these will be found the technical avenues through which governmental organization extends to the citizen the protection and promotion of rights and welfare. In proportion as a government advances through its formal administration of government for political purposes to the larger ideals of political and social service there will be constantly-growing needs of enriching or enlarging the departments of national service.

126. Cabinet Members. What of the tasks of political and social science in the fields of the public health and public education? Is education, representing one of the most fundamental of all institutions, simply one of the many "left-overs" of governmental service? Rather is it not fundamentally connected, not only with the necessary services to the peoples, but also with the very promotion of a self-perpetuating citizenship? Is the public health simply a part of war? Shall we wait always for war and famine and pestilence to extend the service of health protection and promotion to the people? We have gloried in the nation's quick grasp of its opportunities to serve its citizens in their economic difficulties in agriculture and commerce and labor. Are health and education less able to offer testimony to the nation's greatness in meeting the technical social needs of its citizens? Of course we value the children of the nation more than we do its farm animals, but are we not mistaken in assuming that the science of government can provide services for the one and not for the other?

127. Support of institutions. In all these larger interests of governmental social services, however, the form of organization to promote the service ought to be understood and appreciated by the informed citizenship. It is doubtful if there is any aspect of the national government less studied and appreciated than the details of these departments of administration. They must have, in order to become more efficient, the intelligent interest and backing of the people. After all the sentiment and intelligence and action of the citizen must determine the quality and

scope of the government's services. There is, then, here a great and hopeful problem of vital Americanization work: to create, foster, and nourish in the people the ideals of co-operative service by the government to the fundamental institutional needs of the nation. The scope and form of governmental services would be determined by the careful interpretation of the needs of the fundamental institutions upon which America has been founded—the institutions through which the individual may develop its highest types of liberty and social personality, and at the same time promote the welfare of the nation and society. It is the spirit of America to foster and promote American ideals of institutional life and progress. The government is based upon these ideals and is set to the task of executing the will of the people as they interpret their ideals. What, then, is the will and wish of the people?

128. **"Un-American" tendencies.** In reference, for instance, to the home, is it the spirit of America to make difficult the paths of little children? Is it the essence of American institutions to make the very spirit of American cities—and cities must continue to grow and become an increasingly larger proportion of the population—hostile to the coming and growing of little children? Is it the carefully interpreted judgment of America that she should build large units of living situations in which certainly one of the outstanding commands is "Suffer not little children to come unto me for of such is **not** the kingdom of cities." Is the policy of the American citizen one which proclaims for child welfare in a thousand meetings and programs, yet continues the building of a society which neither welcomes children into the family nor permits them to live in pleasant places? Was the advertisement, inserted in the newspaper by a mother, desperate and tearful: "Wanted—To exchange one beautiful blue-eyed little child, for one small dog of any variety. I am permitted to keep the dog but not the child"—was the condition which prompted this the spirit of American ideals? Is it the spirit of American ideals to glorify those socially selfish, economically selfish women of cities, whose scorn for the personal presence of little children in their own city environment is a prevailing characteristic—is it the spirit of American ideals to glory in their fierce denunciation of the liberty-loving,

sincere and genuine fathers and mothers of men in the rural districts whose limited experience allows them to do harm to their little children in wrong hours and tasks of work? Rather, ought we not through good citizenship enlarge the experience and knowledge of all fathers and mothers and magnify child welfare in city and county, the nation over! These are questions not for formal government to answer but for the spirit of American citizenship to interpret.

129. Citizenship and Labor. Looking back over the history of the founding of the American colonies, tracing the development of its growing civilization and institutions, interpreting the days and years of its pioneer experience and the motives and spirit of freedom which dominated the founding and developing of this country; and linking these and all other facts available with the terms and conditions of progress, what is the American spirit in its interpretations of relations between capital and labor? Is it the American ideal that the chief outstanding fact in the troubles of labor and capital is the fact of misunderstanding and lack of sympathetic relations between laborers and those who employ? Is it the spirit of America that conditions should be allowed to come to that pass where those who do not understand, never have understood and do not care to understand American ideals must come and interpret to us doctrines un-American, and prevail? Is not the problem of Americanization of our men of wealth and our workers of days a supreme task? What would it not mean if the great mass of American people, both wealthy and worker could but realize the danger of forgetting the rights of labor and the human factor in industry on the one hand, and the rights and fundamental social and economic importance of capital on the other? What would it not mean in these days of tendency toward wrong ideals of idleness or of false gain through oppression and unsound methods, if we could again realize in the spirit of the old America that WORK is a law of life and industry, one of our most fundamental institutions! Is this a matter solely for formal government or is it a matter of intelligent, informed, patriotic Americanized citizenship? Will remedies come through force or will they come through the patriotic and informed participa- of all citizenship in the common problems?

130. Social problems of Americanism. There are other similar problems relating to these and to other fundamental institutions. There are general problems of the national ideals and specific problems of state citizenship. They are all vitally connected with problems of government and with the difficulties of Americanizing immigrants as well. The challenge is for the participation of woman in active government to bring about an increasingly nearer consummation of the ideals and organization of American democracy what time she performs the tasks of local citizenship and service. Some of these tasks are in North Carolina with specific challenge. Civic illiteracy has been mentioned, educational illiteracy is another. The problem of developing rural conditions to the point where the country home and community will again be typical of the best that America can produce is another. Provision for property ownership of what Dr. Branson calls the homeless thousands of towns and cities is another. Another is the creation of a wholesome sentiment of fair play on the part of citizens in that government services received must be paid for and that it is a part of citizenship to support its government. Still another is the difficult problem of giving justice and fair play to the negro. The Southern states, in conformity to sound principles and experience, have determined upon policies of race relationships. These policies have proved wise and have been sustained by the findings of able students and of international scientific societies in some instances. The policies are clear cut and based exactly on right and justice to the whole people. It is, therefore, all the more important that in the promotion of these policies the fundamentals of justice, sympathy, co-operation and fair play shall prevail in all matters of race relationships. This is the spirit of North Carolina. It is not the spirit of Carolina, for instance, that one white citizen should coerce a negro to purchase, with his surplus moneys or services, an expensive automobile at high price while another white citizen denounces him severely for the ownership and operation of such a car. This extreme example, and all others, suggest the necessity of consistent and equitable conduct that will bear the test of succeeding years. Citizens and government alike must abide by the principles of service here, as elsewhere.

131. Government supreme. But in all earnest efforts to magnify the great American tradition of government based upon service to the people, there must be constant reminder that it is nevertheless **government!** and that it renders no special privilege, service or political favor to persons beyond the rights of all the people. There must develop no ideals which tend toward the demand upon a government for selfish services or for tasks not consistent with the technique of government and the rights of future generations. The great goal is to so build government that its principles and science of organization shall both promote all the forms of service and at the same time protect, by its power and political, as well as social, control, the rights and lives of the citizens. This government of a democracy is therefore a powerful co-operative project in which the citizens abide by the judgment of the majority of all the people. This is the nation, the America

> born of the longing of the ages,
> By the truth of the noble dead
> By the faith of the living fed

To become citizens anew is the task to which "we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have."

132. Co-operation and projects. Part V is not an analysis of the problems of national government on the one hand, of Americanism on the other: it is a challenge to find and enact the truest modes of present-day United States of America citizenship. The forms of citizen co-operation, then, in this part will comprise a complete summary of the entire projects of the manual preceding. It is largely a review, but keeping in mind the larger national ideals. There are, however, many special projects which will contribute strong programs.

Little or no mention has been made of the radicals and various forms of bolshevism commonly being interpreted. Make a classified study of the forms of organized unrest in this country and compare them with the ideals of our American government.

Make out, from a careful study of each of the platforms of the political parties, a chart classifying their attitudes toward

the great problems of America today; their omission or unsatisfactory statements toward these problems.

Review the principles of civil government underlying the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the national government.

Work out a chart, listing each of the ten departments of national government, giving the cabinet officers in charge and a **detailed functional statement of all services rendered** to the people. Why is health classified under the secretary of war?

Make a chart showing classification of the principal most difficult social problems that endanger our society. Which ones are attacked by government directly. Which one indirectly by citizen efficiency and wholesome ideals?

Classify all causes of non-co-operation in civic life. Is Kipling's philosophy (1) right; (2) possible of achievement?

"It ain't the guns nor armament, nor funds that they can pay,
But the close co-operation that makes them win the day.
It ain't the individual, nor the army as a whole,
But the everlastin' teamwork of every bloomin' soul."

PART VI

PLANS OF STUDY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

133. Wealth of material. A search for suitable readings and guidance in the field of citizenship and social problems reveals such a wealth of material in general books, periodicals, and special publications that many happy choices may be made. In fact it would be very difficult to find a field so alive with new and wholesome contributions. And for the reason that there are so many good things from which to choose (and much also that is worthless and unwholesome) it is all the more important to exercise the best of judgment in the selections to be made. One wishes to read everything! There are the good old books of standard contributions and the fine new books with appeal on every page. How they challenge to enjoyment and achievement. But it is evident for the average individual among us all, and for the average group among us, only a relatively small number can be used to advantage. In listing, therefore, certain books and other publications it must be remembered that no attempt is made **to list all the good things.** But that all that are listed may be termed at least relatively good. The plan of listing is to emphasize the first five or six under each division as being perhaps the best adapted to the particular purposes of this manual. Following these are other good titles. The divisions are the same as those in the manual except that a group of readings is given to apply to the study of general social problems, not primarily related to city or town or country or government but to the progress and welfare of society, and therefore applying to all divisions alike. They may best be classed under Part V.

134. Active citizenship. There is another very important consideration with reference to the readings in their relation to the plan of study provided by this manual. It is a manual not simply for learning and study, as fundamental and important as that is, but a manual for **active citizenship.** Reading, therefore, is accompanied with re-created interests and the willingness to do. The method of teaching citizenship is that of learning through the project method or the activity medium of learning and doing. The manual, therefore, itself suggests minimum and maximum information and action.

The fact should be emphasized that the manual is not itself a manual of voting or citizenship. There are very definite places and sources from which such information can be obtained. But it does undertake to present the substance of a minimum information which every citizen in North Carolina ought to have; and to present this minimum in relatively untechnical forms and in harmony with a practical plan of learning and doing. The manual, therefore, may be used to some extent without the accompaniment of books; and then followed later by specialized subjects chosen by the group; for which special subjects, then, suitable added readings should be selected.

Several plans of study are available. Suppose some of these be considered. First, suppose the meetings be begun with the outlines of the manual alone as the basis. The meetings could be planned as follows:

135. First Meeting: The Scope of Services Rendered to the Citizen by the Government. This meeting would consider the contents of the entire manual. What are the fundamental types of government—national, state, city, town, county? Does the average citizen think of government in terms of so immediate and real partnership as the local processes of government about us? In what do these processes consist? Can each member of the group outline the services which a city or town ought to render? a county? a state? Can any citizen be well informed who does not know at least the scope of these services? A good leader would be all that would be necessary if each member possesses a copy of the manual.

136. Second Meeting: The Meaning of Woman's New Part in Government. Here again the manual might be made the basis of the meeting. A careful discussion of the topics of Part I in which agreement and disagreement as to fundamentals might be made. In Part I, for instance, paragraphs 1, 2, 3, which is the greatest contribution to modern democracy? What other contributions may be added? Is the dream of a new fairy democracy a fair one? Is it fair to assume that every woman may have three professions? Are the assumptions that woman's entrance into formal government will better the great institutions a fair assumption? And especially, assign as the objectives of the meeting the listing of specific and practical ways

in which woman in government **will contribute** to bettering women's professions; the home; the school; the church; the state; the community; and industry. If the meeting wishes to reach some definite convictions and high grounds, easily applicable to all alike, this assignment will bring results. Good leadership is necessary.

137. **Third Meeting:** The Study of Town and City Government. Assign to the several leaders for **short** reports the topics of the several aspects of municipal social services: city planning, education, health and sanitation, recreation, public works and the others. Expect each member of the group to be able to enumerate the majority of services under such head. Has your particular community organized under these divisions? Is it rendering reasonable services in each? Is it typical of good community government of citizens, for and by citizens? What suggestions are already in the minds of the group for adding to its services—additions to be made by citizen-help in practical and sympathetic ways, not by destructive critical methods?

138. **Fourth Meeting:** Detailed Study of Specific Problems. But the interest created in the last meeting was such as to require continuation of the study of certain specific problems. Assign, therefore, the special topics that are most apropos in this particular community. It may be the schools. Classify the schools according to paragraph 62. Or Health? Classify the services of the community according to the schedules. Whatever topics are appropriate to study, make suitable assignments and invite leaders in these departments to discuss their situations and their problems. **As many meetings as may be desired,** or sub-committee meetings, may be devoted to the specific problems of the community.

139. **Fifth Meeting:** Things to Be Done. By the time a special study of the departments of service has progressed it will become evident that there is much that can be done in concrete study of the local situations and in citizen co-operation with government officials. Assign, therefore, specific tasks to be investigated or undertaken by members of the group. Choose the things that will be profitable to the community and the group as well. Let the entire group adopt a standard method of study, inquiry, investigation and co-operation with government officials. Let

this method insure common sense methods of approach, sympathetic interest, patient understanding, non-interference with official functioning, generous motives. In the text are suggested many things that can be done. It must be remembered that there is no intention that all or even a small part of all the questions and projects suggested are possible or practical and feasible. And above all, the number and variety, put down only as suggestion and review of the field, should not be allowed to confuse the group into feeling that there is too much to be done to begin. A single project might be worth the whole year's work.

140. **Sixth Meeting:** The County Government. The town is so closely related to the county (for every town is in a county and parts of its government related) that by this time it will be clear that the citizen's knowledge is deficient unless it includes the county. Assign, therefore, one meeting to the study of what constitutes county governmental services, as in the case of previous meetings of city government. Insure that every member of the group knows at least what county government means and the scope of its activities.

141. **Seventh Meeting:** Intensive Studies and Projects. As is the case of the city community, assign special tasks of study and investigation in the county. Ask the county officials to come in and tell you about their work. How little do the members know? How interested will they be? Special projects of citizen inquiry and co-operation should be included; a study of the county resources might be well. Select topics as indicated above.

142. **Eighth Meeting:** State Government. But, the county officials tell you the state has much to do with their problems, and with the problems of the town and city as well. What are these relationships and what has the citizen to do with them? Assign Part IV, as previously to insure that each citizen in the group knows what the state services are. Is it fair to expect to vote and improve public services without at least the knowledge of the departments now existing as listed in this division?

143. **Tenth Meeting:** Special Problems. Assign for special interest and study several specific problems for study: Public Welfare, Public Health, Public Schools. Master the state system

and details of operation. Have representative of whatever departmnts studied come from Raleigh and interpret his problems and organization. The same methods applied in previous programs for city and county may be used.

144. **Eleventh Meeting:** The State's Institution of Higher Learning. Assign one meeting for a report on the status and condition of each of the state's institutions of higher learning; brief reports, gathered **first hand** and up-to-date from the institutions themselves. What are they doing? What are their needs? Why must they turn away thousands of students? What departments of work? What public service?

145. **Twelfth Meeting:** The Business of Voting. Devote at least one meeting to a careful study of the North Carolina election law, copies of which may be had from the state board of elections at Raleigh. Assign topics to leaders on: Elections; executive officials; judicial officials; local officials; methods of primaries, and others. Insure that each member of the groups **knows how and when** to vote.

146. **Thirteenth Meeting:** The Country Life Problem in North Carolina. Devote at least one meeting to the Americanization problem of solving the difficulties of country life. Assign special topics of good roads, country home conveniences, farming conditions, isolation, health and country doctors, the country school. Insure that each member of the group **knows conditions** in that county and sympathizes with the problems involved.

147. **Fourteenth Meeting:** The Negro in the Community. Devote at least one meeting to the study of and inquiry into conditions of life and labor among the negroes of the community. Insure that each member of the group knows what the problems are, where the most difficulties lie, and what remedies are at hand for citizens to apply. The method of conducting this meeting will be determined by the local conditions. In many instances it could be worked out best in co-operation with the negroes; in some instances another plan might be acceptable. But it is most important in any event.

148. **Fifteenth Meeting:** Summary and Publication. One meeting should be devoted to summaries of the year's work in reportable forms. The program should be planned at the beginning with the understanding that at the end of the year the

club's report would be a document of some value. It should be in reports bound together for permanent reference and record; and in some instances where a club has done good work it might be made a valuable contribution for publication.

II.

149. **The second plan** of study and work might well be variations from the above-mentioned one. Many variations would, of course, be chosen by different clubs. Some of these may be mentioned. The first would be, say, the adoption of the essential plan above in which the several meetings, in addition to assigning the manual would assign to different members reports on the same topics but to be made from such standard books as Dawson's Organized Self Government, or Zueblin's or Beard's texts on Municipal Progress, or the University Bulletin and County Government and County Affairs. In other words, check up fully all matters discussed by cross references carefully worked out by leaders. This would be a strong reinforcement of the program and manual. It would be well to undertake as much of this sort of reading and reporting as would be practical, but in no case enough to discourage either individuals or groups from undertaking anything. A good variation of the above plan would be to devote at least one meeting to the study and discussion of the literature on the subject, with authors, viewpoints, reviews. Other variations would include the invitation to outside speakers and specialists to lead off in the programs. It is understood, of course, that different clubs will add to or subtract from the number of meetings as they see fit, and will extend such study intensively or generally over long or short periods of time. A special variation would provide that the meeting listed as twelfth be placed about the second or third of the series in order to interpret the practical matters of voting prior to this year's elections. In this case a second meeting, then, should be devoted to the personnel to be voted for during the coming election, becoming acquainted with not only the abstract persons to be elected by the actual names and histories of each candidate from township through county, state and up to senators. This would not be a bad plan; after the election, however, the great problem is to insure that before

other elections come the woman citizenship shall be well informed, avoiding mistakes of this election or pitfalls so freely prophesied. The great responsibility of these meetings rests upon preparation for permanent citizenship.

III.

150. **A third plan** of study and work might very well dramatize the entire series of studies. In this instance, the last report or summary would be, not a report or series of reports, but a drama representing the year's study and activities. It might well be worth producing and make excellent contribution to community drama as well as to better citizenship. There would be numerous ways of dramatizing the program. Detailed assistance ought always to be had from either the University Department of Dramatic Literature or from members of the club or others who can assist in the perfection of such plans. The drama might, for instance, take a single little girl, and following the outlines of the manual, carry her story from the olden days with the grandmother to the present days and on through full citizenship. This would, of course, need to provide many scenes, from the beginning comedy of unreasonable expectations that she should ever participate in voting, through later varied activities. It would provide for her participation in political campaigns, in elections, in meetings of city councils or boards, in meetings of boards of education and county boards of commissioners. It would stage legislative groups in which she was a prominent member. In each of the stagings there would be in reality the mock performance of all the duties of the woman citizen participating fully in the formal duties of government. It would mean a careful preparation of dialogues and speeches to interpret fully the scope of governmental services and the duties of citizens. It would mean the enactment of actual laws and remedial measures for the betterment of government. A type of this sort of thing is suggested, perhaps, in Mr. Charles Willis Thompson's "The New Voter: Things He and She Ought to Know about Politics and Citizenship." It might well take the year's work to result in such a community drama. The plan of dramatization might be wrought out through smaller efforts at the several meetings as for instance, mock council

meetings, court trials, general assemblies, in which all the while the fundamentals involved in the outlines of the manual were never lost sight of. Or, the plan of dramatization might result in a community pageant, reciting the history of woman's part in government and ending in the great vision of a greater American democracy. This plan is not recommended, except in the few cases where it can be done well and with skilled direction. But if there is power and skill available genuine contribution can be made to the serious interpretation of a very serious epoch in our history.

IV.

151. Suitable variations or combinations of all the above plans will no doubt be preferable to a majority of clubs. The more variety and diversity of methods the better for the cause. It will be noted that paragraphs are numbered so that references may easily be made, that assignments may be given with facility, and that references to books, topics or action of other women may be classified according to topic. An interesting variation would be to report at each meeting the efforts of other women in the same field throughout the state and nation. What are other women doing in each of the topics referred to? Still another interesting and instructive variation would be the assignment to a committee of the task of preparing a score card for, let us say, the city or town community, using as a measuring scale the ten points of service described in paragraphs 30 to 60. Based upon this scale of points, how does this community rank? Or, a similar measuring scale for rural progress could be based upon the twenty points mentioned in paragraph. How does the county and rural life of the county score? Still another important plan would be to undertake special studies of the differences between the present form of county administration and a new form, such as the short ballot or managerial system? Or the difference between the present form of city government and other forms of commission or manager plan. Finally, important meetings could be planned on the special subjects not included in this manual if the group wished to attempt perfect and comprehensive grasp of the whole subject of citizenship and government. Some clubs plan to specialize on **child welfare,** for

example; others will emphasize **social service.** Special references for such studies may be selected from Part V—Bibliography.

V.

152. **The bibliography itself** will offer as many ways of study and planning as the group is able to employ. The field is unlimited. In addition to reading these volumes and reports which will support the special plans of study mentioned or chosen, the group might well take special pride in adding to this list (a) new books, articles, pamphlets just off the press or being announced, and in this way keep up-to-date in the several fields of interest and keep attuned to the current progress of woman's active citizenship. This plan, together with the plan of reporting woman's activities will make a most fruitful year's contribution. It will be well to list in actual writing such new items and publications as come to the attention of the club. These should be listed and numbered under the correct part of the manual. Of special importance is the plan of having the club placed on the regular mailing list of state and national agencies interested in problems of common study. The bibliography below is listed to meet all the plans suggested, Part V including suitable references for special studies of these social problems.

153. **Part I:** In addition to the list below: current publications of the national government, especially the bureau of education, the children's bureau, the department of agriculture, the congressional directory; the platforms of the political parties; the national league of women voters; current periodicals and special lists prepared by local libraries or the University; other current helps.

1. Dawson, Edgar, *Organized Self Government,* Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1920.
2. Ames, Edgar W., *Citizenship for Democracy,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920.
3. Bryce, The Right Honorable Viscount, *Democracy,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920.
4. Thompson, Charles Willis, *The New Voter,* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918.
5. Carroll, D. D., *Citizenship for Women,* The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1919.

6. Follett, Mary, *The New State,* Longmans Green and Co., New York, 1919.
7. Brooks, E. C., *Education for Democracy,* Rand, McNally and Co., Chicago, 1919.
9. King, W. L. M., *Industry and Humanity,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1918.
10. Wilson, Woodrow, *The Hope of the World,* Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920.
11. Greenlaw, Edwin, and Hanford, J. H., *The Great Tradition,* Scott, Foresman, and Co., Chicago, 1919.
12. Ashley, Roscoe L., *The New Civics,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918.
13. Dunn, Arthur W., *Community Civics,* Ginn and Co., Boston, 1920.
14. Beard, Chas. A., *American Government and Politics,* revised edition, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920.
15. Hart, Joseph K., *Community Organization,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920.
16. Addams, Jane, *The Long Road of Woman's Memory,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1916.

See also Part VI.

List others new:

154. Part II: In addition to the list below: Special publications and literature of American City Bureau, New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, New York and Philadelphia, The National Municipal League, Philadelphia, the National Conference for City Planning, Boston, the National Civic Service Reform League; local chambers of commerce and state organizations interested in municipal progress; local and university libraries; national periodicals such as **The American City,** the **National Municipal Review.**

50. Dawson, Edgar, *Organized Self Government,* Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1920. (Part II)
51. Zueblin, Charles, *American Municipal Progress,* revised edition, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1916.
52. Beard, Chas. A., *American City Government,* revised edition, The Century Co., New York, 1920.
53. Goodnow, Frank J., and Bates, F. G., *Municipal Government,* revised edition, The Century Co., New York, 1920.
54. Burnham, A. C., *The Community Health Problem,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920.
55. Evans, F. N., *Town Improvement,* D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1919.
56. Rightor, C. E., *City Manager in Dayton,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1919.

57. Cooke, M. L., *Our Cities Awake,* Doubleday, Page and Co., New York and Garden City, 1919.
58. Nolen, John, *New Ideals in the Planning of Cities,* American City Bureau, New York, 1919.
59. Moody, W. D., *What of the City?* McClurg, Chicago, 1919.
60. Howe, F. C., *The Modern City and its Problems,* Chas. Scribners' Sons, New York, 1919.
61. Addams, Jane, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1914.
62. Bradford, E. A., *Commission Government in American Cities,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1918.
63. Byington, Margaret, *What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities,* Russell Sage Foundations, New York, 1915 and 1920.
64. Woodruff, C. R., *New Municipal Programs,* D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1919.

List others new:

155. Part III: In addition to the list below: **The Progressive Farmer,** Raleigh; special reports from counties; and county reports and figures from state reports; the 1920 census reports on county populations; city versus country; U. S. Department of Agriculture, numbers 103, 104, 105, 106, especially.

101. Dawson, Edgar, *Organized Self Government* (Chapter 28 and appendix), Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1920.
102. Branson, E. C., and others, *County Government and County Affairs,* The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1918.
103. Maxey, C. C., *County Administration,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.
104. Hart, J. K., *Community Organization,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.
105. Sims, R. E., *The Rural Community,* Scribners', New York, 1920.
106. Douglas, H. P., *The Small Town,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.
107. Reports: *National Country Life Conference,* Ithaca, N. Y., 1919 and 1920.
108. Gill and Pinehot, *Six Thousand Country Churches,* The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920.
109. Phelan, J., *Readings in Rural Sociology,* The Macmillan Company, 1920.
110. Andress, J. M., *Health Education in Rural Schools,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1919.
111. Woofter, T. J., *Teaching in Rural Schools,* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1918.

112. Curtis, H. S., *Play and Recreation for the Open Country*, Ginn and Co., Boston, 1914.
113. Groves, E. C., *Rural Problems of Today*, The Association Press, New York, 1919.
114. Galpin, C. J., *Rural Life*, The Century Co., New York, 1919.
115. Mormon, *The Principles of Rural Credit*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917.

List others new:

156. Part IV: In addition to the list below: Reports of the state departments as listed in Part IV of this manual; the Consolidated Statutes; the platforms of the political parties in the state; the bulletin of the state board of charities and public welfare; the census reports for 1920.

151. Dawson, Edgar, *Organized Self Government* (Part III), Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1920.
152. Thompson, Charles Willis, *The New Voter*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918.
153. Peel, W. J., *Civil Government of North Carolina and the United States*, B. F. Johnson, Richmond, 1917.
154. Plehn, C. A., *Public Finance*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920, revised.
155. The North Carolina Historical Commission, *Directory of State and County Officials*, Raleigh, 1919.
156. *The North Carolina Blue Book*, Raleigh, 1918.
157. *The North Carolina Manual*, Raleigh, 1920. (Copy of the 1919 edition may be borrowed from the University library.)
158. The University of North Carolina, *The North Carolina Year Book*, Chapel Hill, 1918, 1919, 1920.
159. The Secretary of State, *North Carolina Election Law*, Raleigh, 1919.

State newspapers and special commercial and other reports.

List others new:

157. Part V: In addition to the list below: References as given in Part I; national journals such as **The Survey, The Family,** New York; current periodicals; the bulletin and outlines of child study of the State Department of Charities and Public Welfare; reports of special institutions and agencies for welfare, such as the National Conference for Social Work, the National Bureau of Information.

201. Dawson, Edgar, *Organized Self Government* (Parts IV and V), Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1920.

202. Thompson, Charles Willis, *The New Voter*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918.
203. Young, James T., *The New American Government and its Work*, The Macmillan Co., 1919.
204. Parsons, G., *The Land of Fair Play*, Chas. Scribners' Sons, New York, 1920.
205. Mecklin, J. M., *Social Ethics*, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, New York, 1920.
206. Weeks, A. D., *The Psychology of Citizenship*, A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1917.
207. Robinson, H. R., *Preparing Women for Citizenship*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1919.
208. Jenks, J. W., *Governmental Action for Social Welfare*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1919.
209. Cabot, R. C., *Social Work*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1919.
210. Todd, A. J., *Scientific Spirit in Social Work*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1919.
211. Ellwood, C. A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, revised, American Book Co., New York, 1918.
212. Cleveland, F. A., and others, *Democracy in Reconstruction*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1919.
213. Hill, H. W., *The New Public Health*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1916.
214. Goodsell, W., *History of the Family*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915.
215. Burch and Patterson, *American Social Problems*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1919.
216. Rauschenbush, W., *Christianizing the Social Order*, The Macmillan Co., 1912.
217. Loob, S. I., *Everyman's Child*, The Century Co., New York, 1920.
218. Beard, Mary A., *A Short History of the Labor Movement*, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920.

Many others new and old:

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